EXTRA OFFICIAL

STATE PAPERS.

My Lord,

THE preſervation of our excellent conſtitution, and the promotion of the public proſperity and happineſs, being the avowed principles and purpoſe of that moſt laudable aſſociation of independent Members of Parliament, which your Lordſhip is at the head of, entitle you not only to the good wiſhes, but to the aſſiſtance, alſo, of every ſincere friend to Great Britain; and if in our idea of the conſtitution we include the juſt rights and prerogatives of the Crown, without which, the monarchy cannot ſubſiſt, nor the liberty of the ſubject be preſerved; and give credit to the charges brought by either of the

EXTRA OFFICIAL
STATE PAPERS.

ADDRESSED TO

The RIGHT HON. LORD RAWDON,

AND THE OTHER MEMBERS

OF THE

TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

ASSOCIATED FOR

THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

AND

PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY

OF

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY A LATE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

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two parties which now divide Parliament againſt the other, there never was a time when the interference of the independent and unattached Members of both Houſes was more neceſſary. Theſe charges I ſhall therefore briefly ſtate, as I have heard them urged by each party as the ground of the meaſures I mean to ſuggeſt for averting thoſe calamities, which both agree are impending over us. The old Whigs, as they call themſelves, it is ſaid, have been uniform in the purſuit of their plan of lowering the King's authority, by depriving the Crown of its influence, ever ſince their expulſion from Miniſtry by the Earl of Bute. The affectation of Patriotiſm, and a zeal for the liberty of the people, or more properly, for their own power over their Sovereign, is allowed to be fair game in every oppoſition; for as they receive no emoluments for their ſervices, the breath of the multitude is as ſlender a diet as even courtiers could wiſh them to have to ſubſiſt on. But when an oppoſition gets into office, and the King truſts them with the exerciſe of his power, the farce is at an end, and, after a few aukward apologies, and a few ineffectual votes with old connections,

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by way of consistency, the business of Government is expected to be taken up, and carried on in the usual way. Such, however, was not the conduct of the old Whigs, when they came into office in 1765, for, connected by many ties of relationship, they found themselves the most numerous body in Parliament, except the dependants of the Crown, and therefore they imagined that if they could augment their own power by measures subversive of the King's authority, they would so reduce the influence of the Crown to an inferiority, or at least to an equality with themselves, that they would lay the Crown under the necessity of continuing them in employment, for, *they in opposition* could, upon all popular questions, when the country gentlemen would go with them, defeat the Minister; but *they in administration* could defy all opposition. Hence it is said that they sacrificed the revenue to their popularity in the cyder countries by the repeal of that most equal tax upon it, and that they sacrificed the commerce, revenue, and sovereignty of Great Britain, to popularity with the American faction, by the repeal of the stamp tax. Their short continu-

ance did not permit them to do much more miſchief, and their being out of power from the year 1776 to the year 1782, left them without the means of purſuing their plan any farther than by fomenting and abetting the rebellion in America, and lending ſome of their party to the Miniſter to defeat his plans for ſubduing it. The hard conditions they impoſed upon the King when they came into power in 1782, were in perfect conformity to their plan of inthralling Majeſty, and the eagerneſs with which they framed and purſued meaſures for reducing the King's influence, is too well known to require being particularly mentioned. They indeed ſo effectually employed the power of the ſovereign, to deſtroy his authority and influence, that in their ſhort continuance in office, they found means to reduce the number attached by offices to the Crown, in the Houſe of Commons, below the number neceſſary to form an Houſe, and by depriving all revenue officers, whether freeholders or freemen, of their votes at elections, they did not leave any other Miniſter the power of ſecuring even his own ſeat in it. And had they ſucceeded in ſeizing into their own hands the whole reve-

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nue of India, they would have confirmed themſelves in office for life. The immediate conſequences of their meaſures were ſuch as the party intended; for when the coalition adminiſtration was diſmiſſed in 1784, the new Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, found a determined majority againſt him; and ſo open were they in avowing their purpoſe of reducing the King to a dependance upon their party, that they carried a reſolution to the effect of inſiſting that the King had not a right to appoint any miniſter they did not recommend; and to force His Majeſty to acquieſcence, they threatened to withhold the ſupplies and diſband the army. Of the democratic principles of this party, therefore, the miniſterialiſts aſſert there can be not doubt, and that it is the duty of every well-wiſher to the monarchy to keep a ſtrict watch over them.

Mr. Pitt's purpoſe to reduce the Crown to a dependance on him, it is ſaid by the old Whigs, though more concealed, is not the leſs to be apprehended. If he does not diminiſh its power, he takes care to prevent the Crown from exerciſing it by any other than *himſelf alone*,

alone, by filling all the departments of the Government with men not only attached to, and dependent upon, himſelf, but ſuch as are ſo incapable of diſcharging the duties of their offices, that they are ſure no other miniſter would continue them, and therefore can have no hope of remaining but from ſupporting him; for ſhould the King be diſpleaſed with Mr. Pitt, which of the other Miniſters, they aſk, could he ſend to to ſupply his place for a day? ſo that Mr. Pitt by his management has reduced the King to the neceſſity of either continuing him *ſole Miniſter*, or of making an entire and total change of his adminiſtration, a thing highly diſagreeable and diſgraceful to the Crown, and not to be done but from great neceſſity.

It is beſide my purpoſe to examine or controvert the truth of either party's charge againſt the other; but the whole nation will make an exception in the laſt in favour of that great Atlas of the conſtitution, and ornament of the woolſack, whoſe brilliant wit, vaſt comprehenſion, ſound judgement, and inflexible integrity, give equal dignity and ſtrength to the Crown, and ſecurity to the liberties and properties

properties of the people : but whatever be the deſigns of the parties, the injurious effects of the curtailments of the influence of the Crown already begin to ſhew themſelves, and call for immediate remedy. A long courſe of parliamentary proceedings having decided againſt the Lords' interfering in the grant of money to the Crown ; the Members of that Houſe have had no other way of preſerving their own importance on thoſe occaſions, than by placing in the Houſe of Commons the younger branches of their families, and for whom the public Boards offered offices ſuitable to their rank and talents, and it is very remarkable that almoſt all the great miniſters this country ever produced, were younger brothers, and theſe gentlemen, at the ſame time they maintained the balance againſt the prevailing power of the democracy by preſerving the influence of the Lords, gave effectual ſupport to the King's meaſures, and were a creditable connection for his Miniſter. The abolition of the Board of Trade, Board of Green Cloth, and Board of Police, with ſo many of the other appendages of the Court, has deprived theſe gentlemen of the expectation of obtaining

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office, by getting into the Houſe of Commons, and the great Lords, finding they cannot obtain a comfortable proviſion for their relations, by ſending them into Parliament, will probably give up the idea of maintaining an influence there, and *ſell their ſeats to the beſt bidder*. Theſe *bidders* will probably be the plunderers of the Eaſt, and the ſpendthrifts of the Weſt, who ſeek a ſcreen for their peculation, or protection for their perſons; General Officers, without regiments, who calculate upon obtaining them during the time of the Parliament, and ſo to lay their money well out; Lieutenant Colonels, who ſeek promotion; and Naval Officers, who wiſh to enjoy the fortunes they have made, without more fighting; or ſuch as expect profitable commands in caſe of a war, or lucrative ſtations in times of peace. Theſe, with maſqued contractors and ſubſcription-ſeekers, will make up the great body of the Commons; and it will be no wonder to find the ancient country Gentlemen of large eſtates eager to leave ſuch company, and become Peers. But what will then become of the dignity and independence of the Houſe of Commons? and where are we to look for

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the ſupporters of public liberty, and the oppoſers of the encroachments of the Crown? It, therefore, appears, from this ſimple deduction, that the meaſures, which have for their avowed object the diminiſhing the influence of the Crown, will, in their conſequences, render the Commons a more dependent body than they have ever been upon it; and therefore, before the evil takes root, and the malady becomes incurable, I truſt, your illuſtrious body will *dare to ſave the Conſtitution*, by bravely combating popular prejudices and extirpating thoſe empiric remedies, which, by pretending to cure it of an imaginary diſeaſe, have endangered its health. Let it, then, be your firſt motion to aſk leave to bring in a bill to amend Mr. Burke's Reform Act, by reſtoring thoſe three Boards, with a capacity to their members to ſit in the Houſe of Commons.

The reſtraint laid upon the Crown, in the grant of Penſions, by that act, ought alſo to be taken off; for it has a moſt miſchievous operation reſpecting the public buſineſs. Old and faithful ſervants can no longer look up to a competent proviſion for themſelves or

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families; and ſuch as become inefficient, cannot be removed, without the greateſt cruelty, for want of an adequate compenſation. It is true, the King may ſtill grant penſions; but if he does grant any, exceeding the paltry ſum of three hundred pounds, which will nett the receiver not above two hundred pounds, the Miniſter muſt ſtate it to Parliament, and expoſe himſelf to the cavil and abuſe of Oppoſition; a ſituation which every Miniſter will avoid, upon every poſſible occaſion: ſo that as long as a man can either ſee or hear, he may expect to be obliged to continue in his office, or quit it without any thing to live upon.

But when you have thus reſtored the dignity of the Houſe of Commons, and efficiency to the Public Offices, the rendering thoſe offices the careful depoſitories of all tranſactions in them, and communications made to them, will be a moſt eſſential ſervice to the King and Nation; for by ſo doing, you will put every ſucceeding officer in poſſeſſion of the knowledge and experience of his predeceſſor, and if the confidential *commis* are retained,

tained, the people will not ſuffer materially by any change in the principals.

Before the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, it had been the practice of every Secretary of State, when he reſigned the ſeals, to carry out of the office as many of the original papers and letters which came into it during his adminiſtration, as he thought fit, conſidering all the correſpondence addreſſed to him, as Secretary of State, as his private property. This practice was intended to be put a ſtop to, by a ſignification of the King's pleaſure, after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, " That no original papers ſhould be taken away by any future Secretary of State, but that he might have copies of whatever he deſired." This order was followed by another regulation, the eſtabliſhment of the Paper Office; the occaſion of which is ſo curious a fact, and will ſo clearly ſhew the little care which had been taken of public documents, that I ſhall ſtate it particularly. My very good friend and former colleague, Mr. John Pownall, whoſe great talents, and comprehenſive knowledge, rendered the Board of Trade ſo highly beneficial to this country for many years, having occaſion to refer to ſome tranſaction

before the Reſtoration, expected to find an account of it in the books of the Privy Council, in which, until that time, the whole executive government was abſorbed.

Upon inquiry at the office, he was informed, there were no books there of ſo old a date; but one of the clerks told him, there were ſeveral old books in a room over the old gateway into Privy Garden, which was then ſtanding, and that it was probable he might find what he wanted there. My indefatigable friend immediately climbed up the rotten ſtaircaſe, and finding the door of the room faſtened by a lock, which had not been opened for many years, and to which there was no key to be found, procured a ſmith to break it open with his ſledge-hammer; which being done, he was covered with a cloud of duſt, raiſed by a flock of pigeons, who had long made that room (the windows being broken) their dwelling place. When the cloud was diſſipated, he removed the filth, and there found the books he was in ſearch of, with many other ancient and public records. Mr. Pownall acquainted Mr. Grenville with the diſcovery he had made; and that great and excellent Miniſter, who was

always

always aeceſſible to men of talents and experience, and received, with thankfulneſs, whatever uſeful information they brought him, and gave it the attention its importance merited, immediately concerted with him the plan of the Paper Office, for the reception and preſervation of ſuch papers as might be ſpared from the ſeveral public offices. Theſe two meaſures, it might be ſuppoſed, would have rendered any further proviſion for their preſervation unneceſſary. But a *late tranſaction*, which I was ordered to give ſome account of before the Houſe of Lords, and ſome others, which are not yet known to the public *, has ſhewn that ſomething is ſtill wanting, and *that*, I humbly apprehend, is, a reſolution of one or both Houſes of Parliament, declaring, " That all original papers, " of a public nature, that are received in- " to any of the public offices, are the " property of the Crown ; and that to re- " move them, or deſtroy them, without

* I lately applied for a copy of my evidence before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1765, upon the ſtate of the American colonies ; when I was told that the proceedings of that moſt important Committee was not to be found.

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His Majeſty's command, is a high crime and miſdemeanor.

As my evidence upon the occaſion alluded to, as well as my conduct towards the Earl of Shelburne has been much canvaſſed and miſrepreſented, I ſhall here take the liberty of giving a full hiſtory of my ſituation, and tranſactions with his Lordſhip.

Every one who is at all acquainted with the conſtitution of this governnment, muſt know, that all warlike preparations, every military operation, and every naval equipment, muſt be directed by a Secretary of State before they can be undertaken. Neither the Admiralty, Treaſury, Ordnance, Navy or Victualling Boards can move a ſtep without the King's commands ſo ſignified. The heads of the three firſt Boards are generally of the Cabinet, and conſequently informed of what is intended; but the Conſtitution requires that two other Members of each ſhould ſign any order iſſued by the Board to give it validity. Hence ariſes the almoſt impoſſibility of keeping our deſigns a ſecret from the enemy. As it was my duty to pre-

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pare all ſuch orders, I repreſented to Lord George Germaine the great advantage the enemy had over us, and the improbability of our enterpriſes ever ſucceeding under ſuch a practice, and I propoſed a method of carrying on the buſineſs where ſecrecy was required, which his Lordſhip adopted, and the whole Cabinet and His Majeſty approved; and I have the great ſatisfaction to reflect, that not one of our ſecret expeditions were diſcovered or defeated. It was owing to that plan that although the preparations for the ſuccour and maintenance of Gibraltar, were the greateſt ever known; the ſecret was ſo well kept, that the great reſtorer of the character and diſcipline of the Britiſh navy, the gallant, but perſecuted, Rodney, was able to ſurpriſe the Spaniſh Admiral,* and that St. Lucia and St. Euſtatius were

* In juſtice to the memory of a man who poſſeſſed the beſt talents for executive buſineſs that I ever was acquainted with, Mr. Richard Atkinſon, I think it proper to mention the preparation of one article, which, with the forges, was ſo ſucceſsfully employed in the deſtruction of the enemy. The article was coals, with which it was found the Mr. Foxes had a contract for ſupplying Gibraltar. To have deſired the contractors to provide them, would have been to tell all the world where they were going, at the

were likewiſe ſurpriſed.* I ſincerely hope, that before this country is engaged in another war, all thoſe whom I had the honour to ſerve with, and myſelf, may be beyond the reach of its alarms; but whenever that misfortune happens, the plan will be found *where it was my duty to depoſite it.* An eſpecial confidence was, in conſequence of this plan, neceſſarily placed in me; and therefore, although it was my wiſh to have retired when Lord Sackville reſigned the ſeals, as I imagined ſuch a change of meaſures would fol-

the ſame time the ſending them from any other perſon was a violation of the contract. To preſerve the ſecret, and avoid giving offence to the contractors, Mr. Atkinſon offered to procure the coals in quality of agent for the Mr. Foxes, and to give to them the advantage of the purchaſe, without making any charge for commiſſion, when the buſineſs was executed, and he actually procured the coals accordingly.

* The orders to the General and Admiral (thoſe to the latter from the Admiralty, being only a tranſcript of the Secretary of State's letter to that Board) were diſpatched to Portſmouth within *two hours* after the reſolution of the Council was reported and approved by the King, and it was owing to that extraordinary ſpeed, that the expedition arrived in time to ſend after and overtake the Dutch fleet, which had ſailed two days before.

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low, as I ſhould feel great repugnance in carrying into execution; yet I ſubmitted my continuance or removal to his Majeſty's good pleaſure; and my repugnance to continue was not a little increaſed by the apprehenſion that Mr. Dundaſs, who had been the occaſion of his Lordſhip's reſignation, was to be his ſucceſſor. But I ſoon perceived by his friend Mr. Atkinſon's converſation, that a new diſtribution of the three Secretaries' offices was in that gentleman's contemplation, and that he meant to content himſelf with the *óttor* of the Eaſt-India roſe, without endangering the pricking his finger with the American thorn; though he had no objection to its repreſentative, the thiſtle, of his own country; the well-known qualities of that plant to *offend thoſe who touch it gently but to do no injury to thoſe who ſqueeze it hard*, being very much to his mind. I was however made happy by the appointment of Mr. Ellis, and was honoured with the King's approbation of my continuing in the office. The ſhort time the adminiſtration laſted after Mr. Ellis's appointment, did not allow the Public much opportunity of profiting by his ſound judgement and great experience;

but his recommendation of Sir Guy Carleton to be Commander in Chief in North America, was a ſervice that met with general applauſe, and gave a promiſe of better ſucceſs in the next campaign, than in any that had preceded it. Sir Guy was not ſailed, nor had he received his full inſtructions, when Mr. Ellis reſigned. As the change of Adminiſtration was general, and the whole oppoſition was to come in, and the Earl of Shelburne was ſaid to be the American Secretary, I begged Mr. Ellis to requeſt from the King permiſſion for me to retire. The ſtrong part I had taken againſt the American rebellion made me particularly obnoxious; and my having done the only vigorous act of the late Adminiſtration againſt its abettors in England, by ſeizing Captain Hutchins and his papers, *without any warrant at all*, in defiance of all the bad law, and factious oratory that had been bellowed out againſt *general warrants*, was not likely to have conciliated the noble Earl's good will, or that of *his* friends; and as I had no title to their friendſhip, neither had I any claim upon their gratitude, for I had done my utmoſt to keep them out of office; and if every one of

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King's ſervants had acted with the ſame zeal, or thoſe who did not had been puniſhed as they deſerved; I am well perſuaded that neither the Earl himſelf, nor his particular friends would have ſeen the inſide of the Cabinet Council Chamber. Knowing ſo much of each other, therefore, as we did, it was not poſſible for that mutual confidence to grow up, or ſubſiſt between us, which is ſo eſſential to the ſituation I ſtood in, the moſt important of all the ſubordinate offices of the State. But as I knew how injurious to the King's ſervice and the public affairs my then withdrawing muſt be, I begged Mr. Ellis to acquaint his Majeſty, that I ſhould remain in the office to bring up all the depending buſineſs, and to give every information I was poſſeſſed of, to whoever his Majeſty ſhould think fit to appoint his Secretary of State, as long as my attendance ſhould be deſired. I was therefore found in the office by the Earl of Shelburne when he brought the ſeals to Whitehall. Our perſons were not unknown to each other; I had furniſhed his Lordſhip in the year 1763, with ſome materials for his ſpeech in approbation of the peace, and

he had given me in return a commiſſion to execute in Paris, which, if I had attempted, would probably have procured me an introduction to Mr. de Sartine's acquaintance, and a *cheaper lodging* than the Hotel de Tours, where I reſided with my noble friend and patron Lord Groſvenor: we therefore met as old acquaintance.

His Lordſhip informed me that the American Department and the Board of Trade were to be ſuppreſſed, and all the buſineſs transferred to the Southern Department as formerly; that it was his intention to make a critical ſurvey of the three offices, and retain thoſe of the beſt abilities in each, and make a complete and perfect eſtabliſhment out of the three; but that the ſupernumeraries who had behaved well ſhould be amply recompenſed for the loſs of their offices. I begged his Lordſhip would be ſo good as to leave me out in his ſurvey, as it was my wiſh to retire; he replied quickly, ſure I would not think of leaving the office at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a ſtate—I ſaid, by no means; I had promiſed to the King that I would give his Lordſhip every information

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he desired, and would remain as long as he thought my attendance necessary; but that I must desire his Lordship would not think of employing me in any *new or confidential matter*. He smiled, and asked me what were my reasons for that?—I had two, but I chose to give his Lordship only one, which was, that his Cabinet was a very numerous one, and some of the Members had never been accustomed to secrets of State, and that in my long acquaintance with ministers, I had ever found a State secret very burthensome to a new Cabinet Counsellor, and that, either through vanity or imprudence, it was probable their consultations would get abroad, and it was not unlikely that I should be charged with having divulged them. He laughed heartily, and went away saying, he dared to say every thing would be very safe with me. My stipulation was, I believe, unnecessary; for his Lordship had not, I imagine, any intention of confiding his secrets to me; but as I *had made the stipulation*, I considered myself at liberty to deny any charge of being in *his confidence*, which was the thing I aimed at; for, after possessing the fullest confidence of

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an Earl of Hillſborough, an Earl of Dartmouth, and a Lord George Germain, I could not brook the *ſuſpicion* of being the repoſitory or adviſer of the State artifices of the Earl of Shelburne.

After the arrival of that very intelligent, attentive, and obliging gentleman, Mr. Nepean, my attendance at Shelburne Houſe was no longer neceſſary, and I took the firſt opportunity to requeſt his Lordſhip to diſpenſe with it, and I believe he was as well pleaſed to get rid of me, as I was to be gone, and for a ſimilar reaſon; for I was daily ſubject to the mortification of ſeeing perſons paſs through the room where I was kept in waiting, ſome of whom, if my advice had been taken by the late Adminiſtration, or I had been at liberty to have followed my own, ſhould have come into my preſence upon a very different footing. One circumſtance that happened, and as it was followed by another the moſt highly gratifying to me, and as both were public, I will mention. The American merchants had one day come up to wait upon his Lordſhip with a ſtate of their ſituation with the revolted Colonies,

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and to requeſt his attention to their intereſts in any negociation he might enter into. On their return from their conference, they paſſed through the room in which I was attending as uſual, amuſing myſelf with my own thoughts, and as I was well known to them all, they ſtopped to ſpeak to me, and told me, with an air of ridicule, that they had juſt learned how very ill I had done my buſineſs, for they had been told that every thing in the American Office was in ſuch confuſion, that it was impoſſible for his Lordſhip, as yet, to poſſeſs himſelf of any information, or to do any buſineſs*. The next Sunday I went to pay my duty to the Queen, and being ſtopped at the entrance into the upper drawing room by the crowd, I could get no farther than the paſſage,

* Conceiving, I preſume, that the diſpoſition of the office papers ſhould bear a ſtrict analogy to the arrangement of the principal's ideas, his Lordſhip ordered all the books and papers of the Board of Trade to be taken out of the preſſes and thrown in heaps *higglety pigglety* on the floors of the chambers, in which ſtate they remained, while I had any acquaintance with the office. His Lordſhip's ſucceſſor, it may be ſuppoſed, has ſince had them placed in the moſt exact and methodical order, to correſpond with the clear arrangement of *his own* ideas.

where the Earl of Shelburne was forced againſt me, and I, with much difficulty, got room for his Lordſhip to come before me, in which ſituation we were, with my chin over his Lordſhip's ſhoulder, when His Majeſty came up to him, and after ſpeaking to him about the country, perceiving me, with his uſual great goodneſs and condeſcenſion to me, he raiſed his voice, and ſaid to his Lordſhip, with a look of benignity to me, " You found the Ame-
" rican Office in pretty good order, I believe."
" Oh, yes, Sir," replied the Earl, " *in the*
" *moſt perfect order* :" to which I added, as His Majeſty looked as if he intended I ſhould join in the converſation, and I was happy in the opportunity of doing juſtice to the merit of two worthy friends, " That Mr. Pownall
" had regulated the office ſo extremely well
" at its firſt eſtabliſhment, that nothing
" more was neceſſary than to keep every
" thing in the ſame order; and that Mr.
" Pollock, who had the care of the papers,
" and of making up the diſpatches, was ſo
" extremely attentive and diligent, that, in
" the whole of the twelve years I had been
" Under Secretary, I never knew him leave
" out a ſingle incloſure, but in one in-
" ſtance :"

" ſtance;" upon which, his Majeſty, turning to Lord Shelburne, ſaid, " *That* was very " diligent and careful indeed, to make only " one miſtake in twelve years." " Yes, Sir," ſaid his Lordſhip, " but that diligence and " attention which is ſo uſeful to others, is " generally prejudicial to the perſons themſelves; and Mr. Pollock has ſuffered greatly " in his health." " Why," replied the King, " that was *his* caſe," looking moſt graciouſly towards me, " for I remember him " in a very bad ſtate of health; but he now " ſeems quite well." " Yes, Sir," rejoined I; " and Mr. Pollock is alſo very much reco" vered, and perfectly capable of doing the " buſineſs of the office." I need not add, that Mr. Pollock was not put upon the ſuppreſſed liſt.

His Lordſhip, not being very perfect in the geography of America, as all the world now knows, I took the pains to trace out, upon the maps before him, every poſt, ſtation, and mode of communication throughout the whole ſeat of the war, and explained to him the plans which Lord Sackville had concerted for carrying it on, and the meaſures which

had been taken, and the preparations which had been made for the next campaign, with which he was ſo much pleaſed, that he deſired I would meet Sir Guy Carleton, and go over the whole again with them both, which I accordingly did; and Sir Guy entered ſo entirely into the idea, that he went out with a full purpoſe of purſuing it, and, as I underſtood, with his Lordſhip's concurrence, notwithſtanding the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons againſt offenſive operations; and as he hath both zeal to incite, ability to plan, and judgement to execute, there could have been no doubt of his ſucceeding; but he had ſcarcely landed at New York, before he received orders from his Lordſhip to deſiſt from all military enterprizes.

Upon the ſubject of making peace with America, his Lordſhip was pleaſed to aſk my opinion; and I told him that I had laid two projects before Lord George Germain. The one was, to divide the eaſtern ſide of the Continent into three great Governments, a northern, a middle, and a ſouthern one, and to put each upon the ſame footing with Ireland. The other was, to treat upon the

footing

footing of the *uti poſſidetis*, which his Lordſhip liked the beſt; and with that view, had ordered the attack of Penobſcott, the eſtabliſhment of a port on the Cheſapeak, and the expeditions for the recovery of Georgia and South Carolina; and that the retaining them, with the iſlands of New York, Statin, Long Iſland, Canada, and Nova Scotia, would, I was convinced, ſecure to this country all the trade of America which was worth having, at a much leſs charge to the Nation, than we had hitherto been at for that country. He aſked me, if I thought America would treat with us, upon ſuch grounds? I ſaid, that *I had good reaſon to believe they would*, or that Mr. de Vergennes would oblige them to do ſo; for his Lordſhip would ſee, in Mr. Laurens's papers *, that the French Miniſter had

* Mr. Laurens, when Preſident of the American Congreſs, made copies of all the diſpatches he received from the Commiſſioners at Paris, and of all the diſpatches he tranſmitted to them, which, with other intereſting papers, were with him in a trunk, when the veſſel, which was carrying him to France, was taken off the Banks of Newfoundland. When he found the capture of the ſhip inevitable, he threw the trunk into the ſea, which an intrepid Engliſh ſailor obſerving, plunged in after it, and

 recovered

had declared to the American Commiſſioners, *that France was incapable of giving them further aſſiſtance*, and they muſt do the beſt they could for themſelves; and that the only hope the Congreſs now had of maintaining their independence, was upon the inactivity or inability of our officers in carrying on the war, or the retardments thrown in the way of its deciſion, by ſuch as had an intereſt in its continuance; but that making an example or two, would preſently deprive the rebels of even that hope. His Lordſhip ſhook his head, and ſaid, America would never agree to any thing leſs than total independence. Why did

recovered it, and it was brought to England with Mr. Laurens, and delivered to me. The papers were all carefully dried, and ſelected for the inſpection of His Majeſty and the Miniſters; and the information they contained, was deemed of the *utmoſt importance*. Mr. Laurens makes no ſecret of ſaying they *were all given back to him*. A *precis* of them, however, may be found where it ought to be. That very able negociator, Mr. Forth, who poſſeſſed the eſteem and confidence of both Maurepas and Vergennes, and was in negociation with thoſe Miniſters, when the *famous* defenſive reſolution was come to in the Houſe of Commons, can teſtify what probability there was that *they* would have obliged the Americans to accept of peace upon the footing of the *uti poſſidetis*, when that reſolution was paſſed.

we not ſend for him a year ago? he could then have done ſomething for us, but now it was too late.

The Quebec diſpatches of the laſt year, which I had undertaken to prepare anſwers to, had been a month with his Lordſhip, without my being able to get any directions from him reſpecting the anſwers to be given. He had appointed me a dozen mornings at leaſt, to read over the letters with him, but he had as often ſent me away without opening the boxes. I at laſt received a meſſage at eleven o'clock on a Sunday night, to come to him immediately; but as I had ever made it a rule, while I was Under Secretary, neither to go to the office, nor to do any buſineſs that was not neceſſary to be immediately diſpatched, upon that ſolemn day, I returned his Lordſhip for anſwer, that I was juſt going to read prayers to my family, and would wait upon him early the next morning. The meſſenger inſtantly came back, with his Lordſhip's compliments, and that he did not know it was ſo late when he ſent, but would be glad to ſee me the next morning. The next morning I accordingly went; when his

Lordſhip

Lordſhip obſerving the diſpatches to be very voluminous, aſked me, if I could not give him ſome account of them? and I gave him my *precis*, by which I meant to anſwer them, with which he was vaſtly pleaſed; and told me to draw ſuch letters as I thought fit, and bring them to him. I then ſaid, he muſt firſt tell me what I was to ſay upon *particular topics*, (which I named) for it was my duty to obey his directions. He conſidered a little, and then told me to do as I thought beſt myſelf. I prepared the drafts accordingly, and ſent them to his Lordſhip's houſe, where they remained ſome days, without receiving any directions reſpecting them; ſo to ſave myſelf from blame, I wrote the following note, and ſent it in a box to his Lordſhip;

" The Quebec merchants have repeated
" their application for the immediate ſailing
" of the convoy, without waiting for any
" ſhips that are not ready. Your Lordſhip
" will be pleaſed to recollect, that there are
" ſeveral drafts with you, waiting your Lord-
" ſhip's correction, before they can be writ-
" ten for your ſigning. There will be two
" more official letters, which Mr. Knox pro-

" poſes

" poſes to prepare, when he gets anſwers
" from the Treaſury and Commander in
" Chief, which will complete what relates
" to *paſt meaſures, and he does not think it*
" *would be proper in him to prepare any letter*
" *reſpecting the future, leſt it ſhould have the*
" *appearance of obtruding into your Lordſhip's*
" *confidence, which he has always careſully*
" *avoided, as unbecoming in his preſent ſitu-*
" *ation.*"

18th April, 1782.

This produced an order for me to come to him. When he looked over the drafts, he ſaid they were very ſenſible and very well drawn, but he ſhould conſider them by himſelf. He did ſo; and ſome days afterwards produced them with very material alterations; and when I pointed out to him the want of conſiſtency between the parts, he put them in his pocket, ſaying he ſhould write ſomething himſelf. And ſo ended my official attendance; for the next day I found Mr. Ord in my Room, when I went to the office; his Lordſhip ſoon came down, and ſending for me, told me how much

much he was obliged to me, and that my behaviour had made a very deep impreſſion on his mind, and aſked me if I wiſhed him to do any thing for me. I expreſſed my ſenſe of his Lordſhip's goodneſs to me, but told him that as the King had been ſo very compaſſionate and kind to me, I could not think of being any farther charge to His Majeſty; that it would make me happy to receive ſuch a permanent mark of His Majeſty's approbation of my conduct as had not unuſually been given to Under Secretaries, and offered to others who had declined it; but that as I could not now tell what part of my American property might be reſtored to me, I would not at preſent ſollicit it, but I begged his Lordſhip would beſeech His Majeſty to have me in his remembrance upon ſome future occaſion. His Lordſhip was ſo very obliging as to ſay that he conſidered the penſions given to Mrs. Knox and me, as given to me as an American ſufferer? and that when the compenſation to be made for the ſuppreſſed offices was ſettled, as the expence would be provided for by Parliament, I might rely upon his taking care that I received ample compenſation for my office of Under Secretary, for, added his

Lordſhip,

Lordſhip, *you will take notice that you are not ſuperſeded*: *Mr. Ord is not* your *ſucceſſor, your office is ſuppreſſed.* His Lordſhip was appointed to the Treaſury before the compenſation for the ſuppreſſed offices was ſettled, and I was the *only perſon* to whom nothing was given; and when I underſtood that to be the caſe, I writ the following letter to Mr. Roſe, then Secretary to the Treaſury, and received the following anſwer.

5 March, 1783.

SIR,

LETTERS having been written to the Secretary of the late Board of Trade, and to my colleague, for the laſt ſix months, as Under Secetary of State in the American Department, and to all the clerks who have been deprived of their ſituationsin thoſe offices by their ſuppreſſion, acquainting them that the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury had made them all allowances in compenſation of the *incomes* they had been deprived of; and no ſuch letter having come to me, I am conſtrained to give you the trouble of this letter

to requeſt the favour of you to move their Lordſhips to permit you to inform me on what account it is that I, who had ſerved as Under Secretary to every Secretary of State that has filled the American department, from its inſtitution to its ſuppreſſion, and even attended the Earl of Shelburne when that department was abſorb'd in the domeſtic, until his Lordſhip was more ably ſerved, ſhould be the *only perſon* paſſed over upon this occaſion without compenſation, and even without notice.

I am, Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

Copy of Mr. Roſe's anſwer, dated 17 *March*, 1783.

SIR,

UPON reading to My Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury your Letter, dated the 5th inſtant, reſpecting a compenſation for your office of Under Secretary of State for the American department, I am directed to acquaint you that my Lords are of opinion that

you

you have *no claim whatever to a compenſation* for the loſs of your office, you having already a penſion of 600*l.* a year for yourſelf, and the like ſum for Mrs. Knox.

I am, Sir, &c.

GEO. ROSE.

And when, after Lord Shelburne's reſignation, I writ to him to requeſt he would give me a teſtimony of my conduct towards him in the Secretary of State's office, ſimilar to that the noble Lords, to whom I had been Under Secretary, had given *, to prove to Mr.

* The following are copies of the certificates of the Earls of Hillſborough and Dartmouth, and Lord Sackville, the originals of which I put into Mr. W. Grenville's hands, with a ſtate of my caſe, which he was ſo good as to ſay he would deliver to Mr. Pitt; for *the Miniſter* would never allow me the honour of an audience.

" Theſe are to certify that William Knox, Eſq. exe-
" cuted the office of Under Secretary of State for the A-
" merican department, from the time of his appointment,
" until I reſigned the ſeals, with fidelity and ability, to
" my entire ſatisfaction and His Majeſty's approbation.

" Signed,

" HILLSBOROUGH."

Mr. Pitt that it was not for *treachery* or *miſ-behaviour*, at leaſt, I was ſo hardly treated.

His

This certificate was encloſed in a letter to me, dated at Hillſborough, the 9th July, 1785, in which his Lordſhip, with his wonted nobleneſs of ſentiment and kindneſs for me, was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf in the following terms: "I have great pleaſure in hearing you "are in good health, but am much concerned you meet "with any harſh treatment from adminiſtration, and I "am certain it is very undeſervedly. I ſend you, *with "all my heart and from my heart*, the certificate you de- "ſire; you will find it at the back of this Letter, and I "ſincerely wiſh it may be of uſe to you.

"I am,

"With great truth and regard, &c.

"HILLSBOROUGH."

"Theſe are to certify that William Knox, Eſq. exe- "cuted the office of Under Secretary of State for the "American department, during the time I held the ſeals "of that department, with diſtinguiſhed fidelity and abi- "lity, to my entire ſatisfaction.

"Signed,

"DARTMOUTH."

The noble Earl, whoſe approbation only is a ſufficient teſtimony of any man's integrity, was pleaſed to convey this certificate to me with the following note, dated the 26th June, 1785.

Dear

His Lordſhip ſent for me and told me he thought it was *civiler* to tell me what he had to

" Dear Knox,

" I am much ſurpriſed that there ſhould be any occa-
" ſion for a certificate of your fidelity; but if the preſent
" Treaſury do not know you ſo well as I do, it is their
" misfortune as well as yours. You have on this, as
" on every other occaſion, the hearty good wiſhes of

" Yours,

" DARTMOUTH."

My noble friend, Lord Sackville, being then in London, deſired me to write whatever I thought would be uſeful to me, and he would put his name to it; but I thought the following copy of the certificate Lord Hillſborough had ſent me would ſatisfy the Treaſury, if any thing could, that I was not deſerving the ſtigma fixed upon me, and deſired nothing more from his Lordſhip; but the public will, *in ſome future time*, be more fully informed of his Lordſhip's ſentiments.

" Theſe are to certify that William Knox, Eſq. exe-
" cuted the office of Under Secretary of State, for the
" American department, during the time I held the
" ſeals of that department, with fidelity and ability, to
" my entire ſatisfaction and His Majeſty's approbation.

" Signed,

" SACKVILLE."

Theſe

to ſay, than to write it. Every thing (he ſaid) relating to the American war, and every one concerned in it, he wiſhed to avoid thinking of, and he could not do any thing that might look like an approbation of any thing belonging to it, and beſides he could aſſure me that nothing that came from him would be of any ſervice to me with Mr. Pitt. He then, to get rid of the ſubject, aſked me about my *adventurous undertaking* in Pembrokeſhire with an old friend of his, adding ſome very ſhrew'd obſervations which ſhew'd his deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, and might have been of much uſe to me if they had not unfortunately come too late.

Theſe certificates, however, inſtead of being of the uſe to me thoſe noble perſons hoped, and I expected, they would have been, ſeem only to have confirmed that jealouſy of my official knowledge and *reſentment* againſt me, which what was before known of my ſervices under Lord North's adminiſtration had excited; but as I intend to throw myſelf upon the juſtice and candor of that Parliament which has ſo honourably wiped off the ſtain fixed upon the national character, by the ſacrifice of the properties of the Loyaliſts, by the generous and juſt compenſation they granted for them, I ſhall here take no farther notice of the treatment I have met with.

What

What paſſed between his Lordſhip and me reſpecting the St Euſtatius papers, is ſtated in my evidence before the Houſe of Lords, a correct copy of which is in the Appendix, No. I.; but there is an expreſſion in it which it is proper I ſhould explain. I ſaid Gouverneur and Curzon remained in *cuſtody* until the revolution of the miniſtry in 1782, which was *legally* accurate, as they were held to bail, but not ſo in the ſenſe I really meant it, and believed to be the caſe; for I did not know they had been admitted to bail, and conſidering the ſituation I was in, and the particular charge I had of them, I could not ſuppoſe ſuch a ſtep could have been taken without my knowing of it; for, beſides my having ſat as a Middleſex juſtice with Sir Sampſon Wright at their examination and commitment, though it was not thought neceſſary I ſhould ſign the warrant, their keepers had ſpecial directions not to ſuffer any perſon to have acceſs to them without an order from me: this was done, not to prevent any of their *mercantile* friends or connections coming to them, but to deter any of the abettors of the American rebellion from making them an inſtrument of annoyance to

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the Adminiſtration; for as *they* knew I kept a pretty good watch over them, and that no conſideration of myſelf would withhold me from taking any ſtep which the King's ſervice and the public ſafety rendered neceſſary, truſting to the purity of my motives, and the good ſenſe and integrity of an Engliſh jury for protection, there was no likelihood that any of *them* would apply to me for ſuch permiſſion, and that order had never been revoked, to my knowledge; but the fact was, that from the time Mr. Rigby and Mr. Dundaſs, conſpired to break up Lord North's Adminiſtration, by attacking Lord George Germain in the Houſe of Commons, until the day of his reſignation, the ſeals of the American department might be ſaid to have been in *abeyance*, as his Lordſhip neither attended the Cabinet nor went to the King, and, indeed, was moſtly out of town, as will appear from two of his Lordſhip's letters to me at the time, which I have given in the Appendix, No. 2 and 3; and it became my duty, in conſequence of his Lorſhip's orders, to keep aloof from the offices, and if buſineſs did not come to look for me, which was not probable in that Adminiſtration, not to go

to

to look for it. Hence it was, that I remained ignorant of the whole tranſaction; and that ignorance will, I truſt, excuſe the inaccuracy of my expreſſion; and the reaſons I have given that nothing *ſhould* have paſſed, without my knowledge, will account for my preſumption, that nothing had paſſed, but what I was acquainted with.

Next to the meaſures I have propoſed for ſtrengthening the Conſtitution, I would recommend to your attention an object, with which the *ſafety* of the State is moſt intimately connected; I mean, *the proviſion of timber for the conſtruction of ſhips of the line.* I am well aware, that it is the general opinion, that ſuch is the ſtate of the growing timber throughout England, as to afford no ground to apprehend a deficiency; but I will, notwithſtanding that opinion, venture to foretel, that if no better care is taken than has been, there will not be a ſingle tree to be *purchaſed* in another century, fit for the conſtruction of a ninety-gun ſhip; and I will give the reaſons upon which I found that prediction.

I happen to be a proprietor of woods, and I have cut down oak trees of different ages: a wood of eighty years ſtanding, produced a ſum only equal to a rent of one ſhilling per acre, with compound intereſt, for the time it had been ſtanding; while a copice of twenty years growth, produced equal to four ſhillings per acre, the intereſt computed in the ſame manner. Can it, then, be expected, that any owners of woods will let his oak trees ſtand two hundred, or even one hundred years, which they ought to do, for the purpoſe I have mentioned, when he muſt evidently loſe ſo greatly by it. Trees in parks or ornamental ſituations, I grant, may be permitted to ſtand the full time of their growth; but even when they are arrived at it, the proprietor will find himſelf no gainer by ſelling them to the navy *entire*, inſtead of cutting them up for country uſe. The miſchief done to the ground where the tree is fell'd, and over, or rather through which it muſt be drawn, the pulling down fences, and all the other damages their removal *entire* muſt occaſion in a fine park, or beautiful lawn, would be ſo great, that I am convinced every

inland

inland gentleman of taſte would do as the Marquis of Buckingham has done, give up the price of the timber, and ſuffer the trees to die of old age, rather than diſpoſe of them upon ſuch terms. But the moſt forcible reaſon for my opinion, is ſtill to mention.—What owner of a landed eſtate is it, in the preſent times, that will prefer the emolument of his great grandſon to his own? and what probability is there, that the heirs for four or five generations will all be ſuch ſelf-denyers, as to ſuffer marketable timber to deſcend, untouched, to their ſucceſſors; and indeed, the univerſal practice of making every landed man a tenant for life only, upon his marriage, and the diſſipated turn of males and females, renders it highly improbable that any timber in the kingdom will be ſuffered to ſtand beyond one generation; for it is to the timber upon the ſettled eſtate, that recourſe muſt be had for relief from pecuniary embarraſſment, under ſuch circumſtances.—To flatter ourſelves, therefore, that becauſe much is planted, and much is now ſtanding, that a ſufficient quantity will be ſuffered to arrive at the proper age for the conſtruction

of large ſhips, would be the moſt conſummate folly, and argue a great ignorance of mankind ; and therefore, I truſt, poſterity will have to thank your Society, for ſecuring to them a ſufficient ſupply of large timber, by inciting Government to make uſe of the only means that can be effectual, or at all to be depended upon, for the purpoſe ; which is, the *incloſing the Royal Foreſts, and planting them with acorns.*

That any people could be happy without virtue, that virtue ſhould thrive without religion, and that religion ſhould flouriſh without a prieſthood, and that a prieſthood ſhould ſubſiſt without an eſtabliſhment, can only be imagined by ſuch politicians as are qualified for lodgings in one of the ſides of Moorfields. In ſo far, therefore, as the cry againſt tythes has the depriving the clergy of a legal maintenance for its object, it is to be reprobated by all mankind ; but as the *maintenance itſelf* is not ſo generally declaimed againſt, as the *impolicy* of the *mode* that produces it, which is repreſented as a great diſcouragement to tillage, and the improvement of the king-

dom,

dom, it may not be amiſs to examine the ground of *that objection* to tythes.

In the natural ſtate of all countries, flocks and herds muſt be the general property of the people, and their increaſe the means of acquiring wealth, as that is a produce which requires little labour and leſs ſkill in the owner to obtain; but a people, whoſe ſole property is in ſheep and cattle, cannot be numerous; for their very proſperity prevents their increaſe, the land becoming *too ſtreight* for them, as the plains of Canaan did for Abraham and Lot. The neceſſity of acquiring property, and procuring ſubſiſtence by other means, therefore, neceſſarily introduces tillage; and the cultivated products of the earth becomes the ſuſtenance of the poorer and more numerous claſſes. As the demand for vegetable food increaſes, that for animal leſſens; and as the quantity produced of the vegetable, muſt be greatly inferior, for many years, to the produce of the animals, the price of the one will be vaſtly higher than that of the other. Such was the caſe in England from the earlieſt accounts to the preſent century; and we may obſerve, that the price

of

of grain has been gradually decreasing, and that of animals rising, according to the proportion which the produce of each bore to the demand, insomuch, that flesh and corn have *now* changed the places they stood in, with respect to each other, and the prices they bore in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Sheep and cattle are certainly necessary as well as corn, and a due proportion ought to be observed between them, which the *price* would of itself regulate, if things were left to take their natural course, and each to find its own level; but as, in order to promote tillage, the Legislature has interfered, and given to Corn products an advantage over the animal, which has destroyed the equilibrium, and checked the natural operation of the increase of that produce beyond the demand of the inhabitants, by giving a bounty upon the *export* of corn, (which is, in fact, calling in the inhabitants of other countries to assist in the consumption of a superabundant produce of corn, and thereby keeping up its price,) it prevents the farmer from reducing the quantity to the home consumption, and increasing the animal produce, by turning more of his land into pasturage; so that the danger now

to

to be apprehended, is, that England, from being a country of paſturage only, will become a land of tillage only. To prevent the running from one extreme to the other, ought to be the care of the Stateſman, and the giving attention to ſuch ſubjects in times of peace, would as well become his ſtation, and be infinitely more beneficial to the public, than his *riding in the whirlwind, and directing the ſtorm* of the moſt ſucceſsful war. But beſides the conſideration of a proper ſupply of both animal and vegetable food for the people, the procuring ſupplies of ſuch materials for our manufactures, as are connected with each of thoſe ſpecies of ſuſtenance, is another moſt important object; and in this reſpect, the animal ſpecies has infinitely the preference to the vegetable.

Of the ten millions of inhabitants this iſland is ſaid to contain, full five millions are employed in manufactures; and the materials for the greater part of them are taken from the ſheep or the horned animals, while very few in compariſon are taken from the grain or ſtraw of corn: Let not then the encouragement of tillage be the ſole object of your zeal;

zeal; but ſpare a little of your attention to the procuring a proper ſupply of ſheep and black cattle alſo; and in this view conſider tythes as only operating as a counterpoiſe to the bounty on corn, and withholding the farmer from too eargerly availing himſelf of the certain profit which that bounty at all times, holds out to him from a corn produce, and inducing him to throw out a proportion of his land into paſturage. This ſalutary effect the demand of tythes certainly has, and in fact they, with the bounties, are the great regulators of the national agriculture, and they mutually check and controul each other; though the influence of tythes is become too feeble to preſerve the equilibrium between the two products, as is evident from the late prodigious advance in the prices of animal food, beyond that of vegetable, and therefore the continuance of the *whole of the preſent bounty* is a fit object of conſideration; but the abolition of tythes would certainly increaſe the miſchief, and the price of fleſh would not only riſe much higher than it now is, but thoſe moſt neceſſary and eſſential materials for our manufactures, wool, leather, tallow, bone, and hair, be ſo much increaſed in price,

as

as to deprive us of all foreign consumption.* In this investigation of the subject, I have confined myself to political considerations only, that being the strong ground of the adversary, and I think I have shewn that it would be *impolitic* to abolish tythes, or make any change in the manner of their payment. But although I do not admit the claim of the Clergy to be *jure divino*, and should be no more influenced by the example of Melchisideck and Abraham, than by that of Dr. Price, and Alderman Sawbridge; yet, as all tenants take the payment of tythes into their account, when they agree to rent land, and all land-owners let their lands for a proportionably larger or smaller rent, according to the condition of their being free from, or subject to, tythes, all the complaints of the tenants of the *hardships* of paying them are unjust and ill founded; and as the legal right

* If facts be desired in proof of what I have been advancing, let the prices paid by the Victualling Office for beef and pork, wheat and barley, since its first establishment, be called for, and compared together, and for our future guidance, let the same clerks of the different markets who now make weekly returns of the prices of grain, make the like returns of the prices of flesh.

is unqueſtionable, I truſt the clergy will meet with your ſupport in the enjoyment of them.

We are often called upon to pray for a bleſſing on all ſchools and ſeminaries of *ſound learning*, *and religious education*, and yet I believe we ſhould find it difficult to deſcribe the religious part of the education in any of them. The boys in the great ſchools are taught their catechiſm and the Latin articles, and at the Univerſities, they read the Greek Teſtament, and perhaps Grotius *de veritate*; but in fact the *Chriſtian Religion is almoſt the only thing we are not taught* in the courſe of what is called a *liberal* or *regular* education; and a man may become entitled to put an L. L .D. to his name, without knowing as much of the Religion of his country, as he does of the Heathen Mythology. However, as I have in a late publication* endeavoured to call up the public attention to a reform of our Liturgy, and to render the practice of our church more correſpondent with its principles; I ſhall not farther enlarge upon the ſubject here, only to obſerve that our

* Obſervations on the Liturgy, printed for Debrett.

College

College Chapels are the only conſecrated edifices in the kingdom, in which the Liturgy is read, and no ſermon ever preached. What I have to propoſe for remedy of this defect in the ſyſtem of our education, will be attended with ſome ſmall expence to the nation; but as the religious inſtruction of our youth is an object of ſuch infinite conſequence, it ought not ſurely to be grudged; and indeed it is a diſgrace to all former Adminiſtrations, that it never has been granted. There are, I believe, in both Univerſities, forty-three chapels in which prayers are read about twenty-four Sundays in every year. Let, then, the ſmall ſum of two guineas a Sunday be given to each for a *Sunday lecture*, or elementary diſcourſe upon the principles of our religion after the morning prayer; and thoſe who have a reliſh for a *common place* of a ſuperior ſtyle, may afterwards attend the proceſſion to the great church. The whole expence would be no more than 2064 guineas per annum, not half the charge of the government of Cape Breton; and ſurely we ought to lay out as much for cultivating the minds of all our youth of the ſuperior claſſes with the true principles of our religion,

as we do to improve the barren rocks of an iſland on the other ſide the Atlantic. In ſerious truth, if ſome ſtep of this kind be not taken, the youth of the lower claſſes, by means of the Sunday and other charity ſchools, will be the beſt-inſtructed Chriſtians in the kingdom; and our prayers muſt refer to thoſe ſchools, as the only ſeminaries of *religious education* entitled to the bleſſing of the Almighty.

When I determined upon this publication, it was my intention to furniſh you with an hiſtorical account of the ſeveral *extra* official tranſactions I had been engaged in reſpecting this country, Ireland, and America, and to make you acquainted with the plans which had been formed, the parts which had been executed, and what ſtill remained for conſideration; but as the preſent calamitous ſtate of the King's health occaſions a general ſtagnation of all Government, I ſhall reſerve the hiſtory of what has paſſed reſpecting the Britiſh Colonies in America and the United States, as well as what I have to propoſe reſpecting them, until better times, and only take notice of two important parts of my

plan,

plan, which have been already under the conſideration of His Majeſty's ſervants.—Theſe are, the *religious eſtabliſhments* in the remaining Britiſh Colonies on the Continent, and the *correſpondence* between Great Britain and Ireland and America. In reſpect to the former, the annexed copy (Appendix No. IV.) of the draught of the letter from the Society for Propagation of the Goſpel to Lord Sidney, and of mine to Mr. Pitt, (Appendix, No. V.) which refers to it, will furniſh all the information neceſſary to ground an enquiry into what *has been* done*; and in reſpect to the *correſpondence* with America, the annexed plan, (Appendix, No. VI.) which I prepared at the requeſt of my noble friend and former colleague in office, Lord Walſingham, will, I imagine, give full ſatisfaction to whoever has geographical knowledge or capacity ſufficient to comprehend it, which unfortunately was not the caſe with all thoſe in official ſituations, to whoſe conſideration it was ſubmitted; and although I

* The two tracts reſpecting the Negroe Slaves, and the one reſpecting the Free Indians, lately reprinted by Debrett, may alſo be conſidered as a part of my general plan.

had

had the honour to receive from His Majeſty's own mouth, many months ſince, his repeated entire approbation of it, no part of it has yet been carried into execution, nor any ſtep taken towards it, except the ſurvey of Crooked Iſland by Lord Walſingham's directions, which has been found to contain an excellent road, eaſy and ſafe to enter and depart from, with great plenty of freſh water, in direct contradiction to the report of the late Board of Admiralty, which aſſerted there was neither the one nor the other. To obviate all objections to the *plan*, through the apprehenſion of the increaſed charge it might bring upon the revenue, I propoſed to carry on the whole correſpondence upon either of two footings, viz. to pay to the Poſt Office the full amount of the clear revenue hitherto received from the American correſpondence, as a rent for a leaſe for a number of years, or to take the ſum the *monthly packets have hitherto coſt the public*, as a full allowance for carrying on the whole *nine* days correſpondence: if, however, your Society be of opinion that it is as great a national object as I conceive it to be, you will,

will, no doubt, lend your force to *compel* its adoption.

The commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland cannot long remain upon its preſent footing; and as an exceedingly wiſe and politic ſtep has been taken in uniting the two Privy Councils into one, for the purpoſe of inveſtigating and deliberating upon ſuch ſubjects as affect both kingdoms, I truſt that an equal and juſt tariff will be ſettled, and a gentle and mutually agreeable commercial band will be added to the other tender ligaments which tye, and, I hope, will for ever bind, the two iſlands together. The better to enable your aſſociation to give their aſſiſtance in this important and delicate buſineſs, I ſhall give, as a ſecond part of this publication, an hiſtorical account of what has been already done for Ireland, in which I had ſo large a ſhare, that I ſhall, in fact, be only writing my own memoirs.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

PART I.

No. I.

Extract from the Minutes of the Houſe of Lords.

Die Mercurii, 5 July, 1786.

UPON the ſecond reading of the St. Euſtatius bill, William Knox was called in, and being ſworn was examined.

Q. Do you know any thing of the books ſent and delivered from St. Euſtatius at the Secretary of State's office in the year 1781?

A. There were two tranſmiſſions of books and papers from St. Euſtatius; they came firſt to the Admiralty, and by the Admiralty were ſent to the Secretary of State's office. The firſt

came in the Vengeance; they reſpected two perſons ſent as priſoners in the name of Gouverneur and Curzon; they were Britiſh ſubjects, but merchants ſettled at St. Euſtatius. They were brought in cuſtody, and accuſed of high treaſon, and of ſupplying the Rebel Congreſs with military ſtores. Upon their arrival I was directed to ſend for Sir Sampſon Wright, and we examined them upon the charges which we found in the papers that came along with them, and the facts appeared ſo evident and ſtrong againſt them, as well from the papers as from their own confeſſion, that Sir Sampſon Wright committed them for high treaſon. One was ſent to Clerkenwell Bridewell, Newgate not being in a condition to receive him at that time; the other, not being in a good ſtate of health, was ſuffered to continue in the hands of one of the King's meſſengers. The papers were ſecured in the office. *The two men remained in cuſtody till the revolution of the Miniſtry in March* 1782. *I*, conceiving from the complection of the new Adminiſtration, that neither Gouverneur nor Curzon would be long continued in confinement, but more likely that I myſelf might be proſecuted for the ſhare I had

in

in their confinement, * thought it for my own ſafety, and of thoſe with whom I had the honour to act at that time, to lay my hands on one part of thoſe papers which contained the principal evidence of their criminality; and thoſe papers I have kept in my cuſtody ever ſince. I was not much miſtaken in my conjecture, for in a few days Gouverneur and Curzon were diſcharged. They came down to the Secretary of State's office to demand their papers; I was aſked by the Earl of Shelburne what I knew of the papers? I told him they were in the cuſtody of the firſt clerk, Mr. Pollock, except the papers I had, which I did not acquaint his Lordſhip with, and I afterwards underſtood his Lordſhip had directed Gouverneur and Curzon to get their papers. The other parcel of papers came ſome days after the former ones in the Venus, as I recollect. They were in great boxes, a great number of them, and were under the care of the chief Juſtice of St. Chriſtopher's, a Mr. Gorges, and Capt. Nichols. Mr. Gorges

* The *part* of that Adminiſtration of which I had this opinion can beſt be deſcribed by a certain Mr. Jennings, who it is *now* generally known was employed as a *double ſpy*; and as he is ſaid to have received a reward of 500l. of the public money (beſides having his St. Euſtatius papers reſtored to him) ſince the peace, the public has a right to his information.

gave me ſome account of what thoſe papers were. I, finding them ſo very voluminous, and being engaged in buſineſs of more importance at that time, my then colleague, Sir Benjamin Thompſon, was appointed to examine them, and he took to his aſſiſtance a Mr. Lennard, now Chief Juſtice of Bermudas, and a Mr. Savage, an American loyaliſt; and I begged of them to make what we officially call a *precis*, or ſmall abridgement of the contents of each paper. They made a conſiderable progreſs in it: I have ſeen the *precis*; it contained ſeveral particulars of the commercial tranſactions of the people of St. Euſtatius, with both the Rebel States and the enemy: but as there were no perſons charged ſpecifically, or proſecutions intended againſt any of them, nor any proceedings reſpecting the ſtate, I gave no more attention to the papers, and they were ſuffered to remain in one of the clerk's rooms in the office, where I believe they were when I left the office.

Q. Whether you examined any of the letters as well as the books?

A. I did not.

Q. You

Q. You ſaid you kept back ſome papers, what might they be ?

A. They were the duplicates of the bills of lading, which contained the cargoes of the different veſſels which Gouverneur and Curzon had laden with military ſtores, and ſent to America for the Congreſs.

Q. Are thoſe papers now in your cuſtody ?

A. They are. They are the duplicates of the bills of lading. It is cuſtomary for there to be more than one copy of bills of lading, and theſe are thoſe which were kept by Gouverneur and Curzon.

Q. Did you ſee the letters of Gouverneur and Curzon under their own hand, going to Holland, and which were intercepted in the Dutch Fleet ?

A. I think I did.

Q. Were not thoſe letters laid before his Majeſty's Attorney and Solicitor General ?

A. That I do not recollect.

No.

No. II.

Extract of two Letters from Lord GEORGE GERMAIN *to* W. KNOX, *Esq.*

Drayton, 7th January, 1782.

IF Lord North can strengthen the hands of Government by removing Lord Sandwich and me, without prejudice to the King's honour and interest, I should be the first to advise him to adopt the measure; my only motive for accepting office was, the hope of being of use when our affairs in America seemed desperate; the moment my retiring from employment can answer the same end, if my consent was necessary I should most cheerfully give it, all I dread is, that the Parliament should meet again without any plan being settled, which may afford a prospect of success; for if Lord North is to guard against *avowed enemies and the treachery of professed friends*, he will risk not only his own defeat, but may subject the King to disgrace.

You will remember to excuse me to Lord Hillsborough, for not attending the dinner on Thursday; my being present can be of no advantage

vantage, as I cannot puſh forward any buſineſs till I know whether I am to have any ſhare in the execution of it.

No. III.

Drayton, January 11th, 1782.

I RETURN you the letter to the Admiralty ſigned, and I am glad you have worded it with *proper caution.* I conclude you have the minute of Cabinet to juſtify my proceeding, for in the precarious ſituation in which I ſtand, I can take no meaſure of conſequence upon myſelf. *You will therefore be ſo good as to keep me as much out of the ſcrape as poſſible.* The ſurrender of St. Euſtatius muſt be the effect of treachery. The Marquis de Bouille would never have hazarded ſuch an attempt with ſo ſmall a force, unleſs he had ſettled the buſineſs beforehand; this affair is too bad to be paſſed over even in theſe times. I hope you will explain to thoſe who ſay I ought to be in town, that I am not here for amuſement, but that I thought it more proper and decent to keep out of the way: and I beg you would acquaint Lord North with my reaſon for being abſent.

[THESE letters, written in the ſincerity of that fervent friendſhip and unbounded confidence his Lordſhip placed in the man to whom they were addreſſed (and which was never abated till that hour of calamity to his country and his friends in which he breathed his laſt, as will appear in due time:) baffle all attempts at panegyric, and pronounce an eulogium upon the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, and the pure diſintereſted patriotiſm of his heart, equal to what the ſeraphs muſt have proclaimed upon his arrival among them.]

No. IV.

Copy of the Draught of a Letter from the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel to Lord SYDNEY, *alluded to in my Letter to Mr.* PITT.

THE Society for Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, having under their conſideration the ſtate of their miſſions in North America, and of the church of England, in ſuch parts of it as remain under the dominion of his Majeſty, are anxious to be informed what ſteps have been taken by Government ſince the laſt peace, towards forming a *church eſtabliſh-*

ment therein, and *making* a *permanent provision for its miniſters.* They have learned with much ſatisfaction from the communication your Lordſhip was pleaſed to make to them, that inſtructions have been given to the Governor of New Brunſwick, to appropriate tracts of lands in the pariſhes to be laid out in that province, for glebes for the miniſters to be appointed to ſuch pariſhes, and other ſmaller tracts for ſchoolmaſters, and that a ſalary of 75l. per annum is intended to be allowed in the eſtimate to be granted by Parliament to each of four miniſters of the church of England within that province; but the Society wiſh to know whether any ſum is intended to be allowed for building churches for thoſe miniſters to officiate in, and houſes for their reſidence, both of which they conceive to be abſolutely neceſſary, as the circumſtances of the inhabitants, who they underſtand are chiefly diſtreſſed Loyaliſts, will not admit of their contributing any thing at preſent to the conſtruction of ſuch edifices, and on the ſame account they are induced to expreſs their wiſh that the allowance of 75 l. to each of the miniſters, may be increaſed to at leaſt 100l. which was the ſalary allowed to the miniſters appointed to Eaſt

and Weſt Florida, when that country was erected into thoſe two provinces; the climate of which being more benign, requires leſs expence for cloathing, fuel, and other defences againſt cold, than is neceſſary to provide in the long and ſevere winters of New Brunſwick.

The Society alſo underſtand that ſimilar inſtructions have been given to the Governors of Quebec and Nova Scotia, to appropriate tracts of lands for glebes, and ſmaller portions for ſchoolmaſters, in all the diſtricts laid out for the accommodation of the Loyaliſts in thoſe provinces, and they requeſt to be informed how far the Governors have complied with thoſe inſtructions; in what places the emigrants are ſeated; whether they have carried any clergy of the church of England with them; whether any aſſignments have been made for the ſubſiſtence of ſuch clergymen, upon the revenue of Quebec, or upon the quit rents of Nova Scotia, or any other fund appropriated for the erection of churches and parſonage houſes?

The Society are ſtrongly incited to requeſt information upon theſe ſeveral heads, from their apprehenſions of the want thoſe people muſt be in

in of religious inſtruction and ſpiritual comfort, and from the conſciouſneſs of their own inability to ſupply them from the great decreaſe of their funds, which are now ſo reduced, that they find themſelves under the neceſſity of diſcontinuing ſome of their miſſions, and leſſening the allowance to others. They are, indeed, perſuaded that ſuch is the flouriſhing ſtate of the Quebec revenue, that ample ſtipends for ſuch church of England clergymen as may be wanted in that province may be afforded from it; and hey are not leſs confident that the quit rents payable in Nova Scotia would, if collected, raiſe a fund from which not only the ſums now allowed by the Society to miſſionaries in that province might be taken without any public inconvenience, but what might be neceſſary to maintain a *complete eſtabliſhment of the Church of England.* And upon this ſubject they beg leave to obſerve, that the allowances made by the Society to the miſſionaries in Nova Scotia, at the time of the ſettlement of that province, in aid of the ſalaries granted them in the eſtimate, were in conſideration of the then indigent ſtate of the ſettlers, conſiſting of reduced ſoldiers and German emigrants, and that no revenue was to be raiſed from quit rents for ten

years; but that it never could have been the intention of the Society to continue thoſe allowances longer, than untill the inhabitants were in circumſtances to contribute to the ſupport of their clergy, and the quit rents became ſufficiently productive to afford them an augmentation of their ſalaries; the Society conceiving the maintenance of miſſionaries among the indigent and ſcattered inhabitants of new ſettled countries where the Crown is without the means of an immediate revenue to be the proper application of their funds, and the calls they have upon them of that nature, are more than their funds can now enable them to comply with. They requeſt, however, that it may not be ſuppoſed that they mean in any reſpect to decline the care and ſuperintendance of the church of England in the American provinces, for on the contrary, ſhould Government think fit to make them aſſignments upon the revenue of Quebec, and the quit rents of Nova Scotia, ſufficient to maintain ſuch miniſters as are wanted, they will cheerfully undertake to ſupply them, and ſuperintend their conduct.

No. V.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. KNOX *to the Right Hon. Mr.* PITT.

Soho Square, 7th Aug. 1787.

IN laying any material information before you, I conſider myſelf as doing the beſt I can for the public advantage, and thereby expreſſing my duty and gratitude to his Majeſty in the moſt acceptable manner; and therefore it is that I now take the liberty of acquainting you with the hiſtory of a meaſure which I underſtand is ſoon to be adopted, the appointment of a biſhop for Nova Scotia, which I took much pains to promote, as Under Secretary of State under a former Adminiſtration, and ſince the peace as a Member of the Society for Propagation of the Goſpel, and I aſſiſted in preparing the letter from that Society to Lord Sydney for the ſame purpoſe. I did not, however, make that propoſition as a ſeparate and diſtinct meaſure, but as part of a general plan for the introduction and eſtabliſhment of the church of England, and through it combating and repreſſing the prevailing diſpoſition of the Colonies

to

to republicaniſm, and exciting in them an eſteem for monarchy.

My long experience in colony affairs, and thorough knowledge of their ſtate, had ſhewn me, that the great ſource of all our diſputes and difficulties lay in the mutability of the meaſures of Government from the want of ſyſtem, and their partaking of the faſhion of the times, and wearing the complections of their ſeveral authors, and I therefore recommended it to the King's ſervants, whoſe confidence I had the honour to be in, to form a plan for the Colonies, and lay the foundation ſo deep and wide as to inſure firmneſs and duration to the fabric to be erected upon it. It was my duty to ſketch out the plan, and it was *adopted by a very intelligent Cabinet*; my authority for ſaying ſo will be ſeen in a future publieation; and although it was not made an office paper, I believe his Majeſty ſaw it. *So much of this plan* as I thought applicable to the then ſtate of our remaining poſſeſſions in America, I communicated to Lord North, when he was Secretary of State, and I have the ſatisfaction to find that *every ſtep taken in purſuance of it*, has been judged fit to be followed up in your Adminiſtration. The appointment of a biſhop for Nova Scotia was agreed to be made,

though

though it was among the things left undone when the Adminiſtration was changed, as the *concomitant* meaſures had not been ſettled, for I was far from conſidering that appointment as a neutral meaſure not likely to do either good or harm, for, on the contrary, I apprehended it might be attended with very miſchievous conſequences if the concomitant meaſures I had propoſed did not accompany it. The immediate and obvious effect of the appointment of a biſhop would be the ſuperſeding the neceſſity of ſending out miſſionaries from hence, or candidates for orders coming here from America for education and ordination, by *which one of the ſtrongeſt bands of union between the Colonies and Great Britain would be cut through*; for it is well known, that the church of England miſſionaries in general exerted their influence with their congregations in ſupport of the authority of Government in the late conteſt, and that it was owing to their endeavours that ſo many of that perſuaſion were Loyaliſts, an advantage which Government is not likely to be able to avail itſelf of on any future occaſion, if nothing more be done towards the eſtabliſhment of the church of England in the Colonies, than the appointment of a biſhop. Nay, the pre-

late

late himſelf, if left to ſubſiſt on the intereſt of the fund appropriated to him in the hands of the Society for Propagation of the Goſpel, will probably prove a clog upon Government; for his appointment being for life, and without proſpect of preferment, he will be apt to conſider how he may make the moſt of his ſituation, and, in order to obtain an allowance from the country, attach himſelf to the popular leaders. To counteract theſe evils, I had propoſed that the church dignitaries of dean and archdeacon ſhould take place with the appointment of the biſhop; that a ſalary out of the quit rents ſhould be allotted to every pariſh miniſter, but to ſome more than others; and that thoſe of the dean and archdeacon ſhould be the moſt conſiderable, but all given only during his Majeſty's pleaſure, and the preſentation to all benefices to be in the Governor: an additional ſalary to be likewiſe given to the biſhop during pleaſure, as *head of a ſeminary for the inſtruction of youth, and qualifying them for orders, to be eſtabliſhed at Halifax*; and as in due time a Canadian biſhop was intended to be appointed, with larger emoluments than the Nova Scotia biſhop, who might look up to that ſee as a beneficial tranſlation, and be thence incited

cited to conduct himself with such propriety, and acquire such a habit of acquiescence with the views of Government in his subordinate situation, as might secure his promotion, and preserve him in the same line of conduct when he became pre-eminent. It was not meant that either should be of the Council, but wholly excluded from temporal affairs. Should you be led to conceive from this representation that it would be most prudent to postpone the appointment of a bishop, I must beg leave to acquaint you, that by doing so *now*, the danger will not be avoided, since bishops have been consecrated for the United States, (the policy of which proceeding I will say nothing of) and there are colleges in most of them, where education can be had sufficient to entitle the students to the apostolical benediction of those prelates; and such ordination will equally serve to supersede the necessity of candidates for orders coming to England for education or ordination, and the sending out missionaries from hence, as would the appointment of a bishop for the British Colonies, with this important difference, that as the mode of education and the principles inculcated in the students in those colleges must be entirely Republican, the supplying the

churches in the Britiſh Colonies with *ſuch paſtors* would be like garriſoning our ſtrongeſt fortreſſes with troops of the enemy.—The ſpirit and ability which have diſtinguiſhed your adminiſtration will not therefore allow me to ſuppoſe that this appointment will be ſuffered to remain a *ſolitary meaſure.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. VI.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. KNOX *to Lord* WALSINGHAM, *in anſwer to his Lordſhip's deſire that he would aſſiſt him in putting the American Packets upon a better footing.*

My Lord, 28*th Auguſt*, 1787.

THE ſubject you propoſe to me in the letter I have juſt received, is perhaps the one which I have leaſt conſidered of all the branches of Government; but as far as I have knowledge, or can acquire information, the reſult ſhall be at your ſervice to make whatever uſe you think it

it may be applied to. It is my constant habit to treat every thing which respects Government systematically as a part of the whole, and to consider, in the first place, its relative uses and effects with regard to the whole, before I think of any means for its improvement, for *that* is only to be encouraged in so far as it is promotive of the general welfare, which I presuppose to consist in the preservation of the Constitution.

The Post Office has been hitherto considered as a mere engine of revenue to the public, and of jobs to individuals; its utility to Administration as a quick and preferable mode of intelligence, under the controul of Government, was never thought of, and even its *convenience* to commerce was very little attended to. My ideas always run in a different channel, but it was impossible for them to reach the fountain head when there were such insurmountable obstructions in the passage. Mr. Pitt's adoption of Palmer's plan for expediting the domestic correspondence, and directing the establishment of Packets between Milford Haven and Waterford, in consequence of Mr. Beresford's and my representation, shews his views to be as enlarged

upon this ſubject, as upon points of greater magnitude, and therefore I hope your Lordſhip will give full ſcope to your judgement in forming a plan for his conſideration, comprehending the ſeveral objects of *Government utility*, *commercial benefit*, and *increaſe of revenue*, but each in preference to the other in the order in which I have placed them. If ſuch be your Lordſhip's purpoſe, I will ſketch the outline of it, and ſuggeſt every meaſure which may be neceſſary for giving it effect: but as in doing this I may be only waſting time, from not knowing your Lordſhip's or Mr. Pitt's intentions, I ſhould wiſh to have ſome converſation with you upon the ſubject.

I beg your Lordſhip to believe me your moſt faithful and affectionate ſervant,

WILL. KNOX.

No. VII.

Plans for improving the Correſpondence between Great Britain, Ireland, and the ſeveral Britiſh Colonies in America, the Weſt Indies, and the United States, and between each other.

TIMES of tranquillity are the moſt proper ſeaſons for reviewing the ſtate of the empire, improving its advantages, mending its defects, and preventing future evils; and the great alterations which have been made in the political condition of the Britiſh dominions ſince the peace of 1763, furniſh the ſtrongeſt reaſons for ſo doing, both ſpeedily and with great attention. The ſeparation and independence of 13 of our American colonies, and the emancipation of the legiſlature and legal judicature of Ireland, make ſuch a change in our circumſtances, that the old mode of treating our *dependencies* muſt be exploded, and a new ſyſtem formed, better adapted to our preſent ſituation. What that ſyſtem ſhould be, is matter for the ſerious conſideration of his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, and it would not become me to

ſuggeſt any ideas reſpecting it, but ſuch as the particular branch of Government upon which my opinion is deſired muſt neceſſarily have with it, give occaſion to. At the ſame time I think it proper to obſerve, that as the great annual increaſe of the public revenue (excluſive of what may be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the prevention of ſmuggling) is chiefly occaſioned by the general increaſed conſumption of taxed commodities by the inhabitants of the improved parts of England, whoſe expenditure is now become nearly equal to the whole of their income, no conſiderable addition to it can be expected to be drawn from them by any new mode of taxation whatever; for if nearly the whole be already ſpent in taxed commodities, any new impoſition, if it be productive, muſt neceſſarily leſſen the produce of ſome former one, where there is no room for increaſing the income by greater exertions of labour or ſkill. The *unimproved* and *diſtant* parts of the empire muſt therefore be looked to for farther reſources, and every encouragement ſhould be given to *their* acquiring wealth, ſtimulating them at the ſame time to the exerciſe of the means put in their power to attain it, and to ſpend it again, by facilitating their intercourſe

with

with the capital, and circulating among them a reliſh for its luxuries and refinements. The ableſt miniſter cannot extract a conſiderable revenue from an indigent people; but he muſt be a ſorry financier who cannot find the means of making wealthy ſubjects contribute largely to the ſupport of Government, and therefore the firſt great principle of finance is to make the *people rich.* Should then, what I am now going to propoſe, (*or may hereafter propoſe if called upon*) for promoting the proſperity and facilitating the communication with the *diſtant* and *unimproved* parts of the empire in a manner *beneficial to the conſtitution,* be the occaſion of ſome immediate and direct expenditure of the public revenue, I muſt beg that due credit may be given to me on the other hand for the augmentation it may receive from the operation of the meaſures I recommend. And in order to prevent too haſty a judgement of the probable effects of thoſe meaſures, I will give an inſtance of the extraordinary, and (to ſuch as are not in the habit of reflecting deeply upon ſuch ſubjects,) unexpected conſequences which have followed the embodying the militia of England: great was the outcry at the time of the loſs of hands to agriculture and manufactures, and the

injury

injury the public would ſuſtain by the habits of idleneſs and diſſipation the lower people would acquire from it, and none of the moſt fervent of its advocates ever ventured to defend it as likely to promote tillage and extend manufactures. Yet ſuch have been its effects; for the men who had never eat any other than barley or rye bread at their own houſes, having been fed with wheaten in their camps, carried back with them ſuch a reliſh for it, that neither they or their fellow labourers have ſince eaten any other bread; and hence the conſumption of wheat has ſo greatly encreaſed, that although much more is now grown than before the peace of Paris, very little has ſince been exported, nor is it likely that any large quantities will be to be ſpared hereafter, as the conſumption is every day increaſing. The good cloaths too, with which the men were ſupplied while they ſerved, has had a like effect upon their taſte for apparel, and as they conſume more manufactures, and their expence has become greater, they have been forced to work harder; for no people can ſuſtain an increaſed expence without increaſe of labour, thoſe who ſubſiſt by fraud or plunder being too few in number to be allowed an exception. The removal of the regiments raiſed

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in the manufacturing counties into others where there were none, or ſome only in their infancy, has alſo ſerved to ſpread or perfect ſuch manufactures, and conſequently to increaſe them, ſo that in fact the expenditure of revenue, which the calling out the militia occaſioned, has been compenſated for in a ſuperlative degree, by the increaſe of the produce of the taxes upon conſumption, beſides augmenting the national wealth by the increaſe of its tillage and the ſpreading of its manufactures; and thus, while our ingenious eſtimators are endeavouring to account for the diminution of our exports of wheat by ſuppoſing bad harveſts and ſcanty crops, or the converſion of arable land into paſturage, all of which are untrue. The increaſe of *our home conſumption*, which never occurs to them, gives a fair explanation of the phænomena.

The getting poſſeſſion of the general correſpondence of the ſubjects is a great object of government, and ſeparated as the ſeveral parts of this empire are, and feeble as are the civil powers of the executive, it is almoſt eſſential to the exiſtence of the ſtate; for where there is not ſufficient ſtrength to repel an attack when

made, the greateſt vigilance is neceſſary, in order to prevent it, and the getting early intelligence of the deſign is what renders preventive meaſures effectual. The great improvements lately made in the Engliſh poſt-office, has brought the whole inland correſpondence of this iſland, and between it and Ireland, into the government channel, but a very ſmall part only of that between Great Britain and our American Colonies, and between them and Ireland, paſſes through it. The infrequency and tedioufneſs of the Weſt India and North American packets would be ſufficient to induce all ſorts of perſons to ſend their letters by private ſhips, *as the quicker conveyance*; but they are likewiſe incited to do ſo, by the conſideration of ſaving their correſpondents the charge of the ſea poſtage. It would however be a moſt cruel outrage to humanity, and exceedingly injurious to trade, in the preſent ſtate of the packets, to lay the maſters of private ſhips under the ſame reſtrictions reſpecting the carriage of letters, as the drivers of waggons and ſtage coaches; but if the Government conveyances were made ſo frequent and expeditious as to fully anſwer every purpoſe of trade, there could be no ground of objection to the ſubjecting all letters brought by

private

private ſhips, which did not relate to the cargo, to the payment of the *ſame poſtage* as they would have been chargeable with had they come by the packets, and as an additional number of packets would be neceſſary to juſtify this regulation, ſo would the increaſe the revenue would thereby receive, be much more than ſufficient to defray the additional expence; for I believe it is now pretty generally known, that frequency and expedition in the conveyance will multiply the correſpondence, and that giving facility to correſpondence will increaſe trade, and the increaſe of trade will again increaſe the correſpondence; but ſhould any one doubt of the truth of theſe poſitions, they will find them fully proved by the poſt-office accounts laid before Parliament; for it appears that in 1710, the groſs produce of that revenue was only 111,641l. and in 1744, it was 235,492l. but in 1764 it amounted to 432,048l. ſo that in the firſt 34 years, although the croſs poſts had been eſtabliſhed towards the latter end of that period, the increaſe was only 124,031l. which is equal to an increaſe of 3648l. per annum, whereas, in the 20 years following, the increaſe was nearly 200,000 which, is equal to an annual increaſe of 10,000l. And it ought to be

conſidered, that of the laſt 20 years, 12 were years of war with Spain, and ſix of thoſe 12, of war with France alſo; and that of the preceding 34 years, only 5 were years of war, and that with Spain only. And if we take a view of the progreſs of manufactures through this country, we ſhall find they have followed *the ſame track with the poſt, and extended with every facility given to correſpondence*; nor can there be aſſigned any other cauſe for the manufacturers of the weſt travelling to the north, without taking Wales in their way, than the want of communications through that country, and out of it; and I have the great ſatisfaction of being able to produce the recent eſtabliſhment of a cotton manufactory at Haverfordweſt, in Pembrokeſhire, and of a Newfoundland fiſhery on Milford Haven, as the immediate effects of the promiſe, and completion of that promiſe, of eſtabliſhing packets between that haven and Waterford, and the hope (though hitherto a deluſive one) *of better interior communications.*

Warranted by theſe facts, I am not afraid to aſſert, that the plans I am going to propoſe, by placing the whole correſpondence between Great Britain, Ireland, and America, in the hands of Govern-

Government, and by its celerity increaſing the trade of the empire, will be found beneficial to the revenue in its conſequences, though it ſhould be expenſive to it in the outſet, which, however, will by no means be the caſe.

WEST INDIA PLAN.

THERE are now two packets diſpatched every month to the Weſt Indies, one to proceed directly to Jamaica, the other to make the tour of the Windward Iſlands. They perform their voyages in ſomething more than four months, and ten packets are employed in the ſervice. Neither of theſe packets touch at Providence or Bermuda, and the mails for thoſe places and the Carolina's are left to find their way thither as well as they can,* ſo very defective, though expenſive, is the preſent ſyſtem. But if it took in all thoſe places which I have ſaid are left out, ſtill would a monthly conveyance be inſufficient to anſwer the pur-

* Such was the arrangement at the time this plan was prepared, ſome alteration has ſince been made, but of little conſequence.

poſes

poſes of trade, or to give Government poſſeſſion of the whole correſpondence.

My propoſition, therefore, will go to the providing *three conveyances in every month inſtead of one*, and to the diſpatch of *thirty-ſix Weſt India mails* inſtead of *twenty four*, in every year, and to take into the ſyſtem not only Providence and Bermuda, but the Carolinas and Georgia alſo. To effect this, no more than eleven packets will be wanted to ſail from England and return to it, and three large Bermuda ſloops, and three ſmall ſchooners to continue in the Weſt Indies. One packet only to ſail from England on the firſt, tenth, and nineteenth of every month.

I will ſuppoſe the firſt to depart on the firſt day of January, with the mails for Barbadoes, and all the windward iſlands, St. Vincent's, Grenada, Jamaica, and Providence, and for the Carolina's and Georgia alſo. Upon her arrival at Barbadoes (ſuppoſe on the firſt of February) her mails, with her paſſengers for St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Jamaica, are to be put on board one of the three Bermuda ſloops, which I ſhall call the Leeward iſland packets, and ſhe (the

Engliſh

Engliſh packet) is (after ſtopping twenty-four hours to take in water for the reſt of the voyage, and the homeward mail, which muſt be ready, and any paſſengers that are ready alſo, and ſuch bags, with letters for the other iſlands and the Continent of America, as the poſtmaſter ſhall deliver to her) to proceed to Dominica, Antigua, St. Chriſtopher's, and Tortola, ſtopping only twelve hours at each, to land or take on board paſſengers and change her mails, and to take on board ſuch bags with letters, as the poſtmaſter ſhall deliver to her for the places before mentioned, and proceed to Crooked Iſland, where ſhe is to deliver to one of the three ſmall ſchooners, which I ſhall call the Carolina packets, the mails for Providence, the Carolina's and Georgia, and her bags with letters for thoſe places, and alſo for Bermuda, Virginia, Maryland, and the whole northern diſtrict, and proceed directly to England with the homeward mails ſhe has collected in her route. It is ſuppoſed ſhe will make her paſſage from Barbadoes to Crooked Iſland in nine days, ſo as to arrive there the 10th of February, and that her whole voyage will be performed in twelve weeks.

The

The ſecond Engliſh packet is to ſail the 10th of January, and to arrive at Barbadoes the 10th of February, and, after ſtopping 24 hours, and diſpatching her mails for St. Vincent's, Grenada, Jamaica, and Bermuda, by the ſecond Jamaica packet, proceed as the firſt had done to Crooked Iſland, where ſhe will arrive the 19th of February, and where ſhe is to deliver her mails for Providence, the Carolina's and Georgia, and her bags with letters for Bermuda, Virginia, and Maryland, and the whole northern diſtrict before mentioned, to the ſecond Carolina packet, and as the firſt Jamaica packet will then have had 18 days to go from Barbadoes to St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Jamaica, ſtopping only 12 hours at each of the firſt, and 24 hours at the laſt, and to beat up the windward paſſage to Crooked Iſland, ſhe will be *there* alſo on the 19th of February, and the Engliſh packet having received from her all her homeward mails and paſſengers, is to proceed directly to England, and the Jamaica packet having delivered to the ſecond Carolina ſchooner all her bags with letters for Bermuda, and for the whole Continent of America, is to make the beſt of her way to Barbadoes, to meet the fourth Engliſh packet on the 28th of February.

The

The third Engliſh packet is to ſail the 19th of January, and arrive at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, and after ſtopping 24 hours, and diſpatching her mails for St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Jamaica, by the third Jamaica packet, and taking on board her bags with letters for the Windward Iſlands, Bermuda, and the Continent of America, as the former had done, proceed as the others did to Crooked Iſland, where ſhe will arrive the 28th of February, and *there* meet the ſecond Jamaica packet, and having received her mails, and delivered to the third Carolina packet the mails for Providence, the Carolina's and Georgia, and the bags with letters for thoſe places and Bermuda, and the whole northern diſtrict, proceed directly to England, and the Jamaica packet, having alſo delivered to the third Carolina packet her bags with letters for the laſt mentioned places, is to return directly to Barbadoes.

The fourth Engliſh packet is to ſail the 28th of January, and arrive at Barbadoes the 28th of February, where, finding the firſt Jamaica packet returned from Crooked Iſland, ſhe is to take on board the bags with letters ſhe may have brought for the Windward Iſlands, and

diſpatch her as before to Jamaica, and proceed herſelf to Crooked Iſland, in like manner as the preceding packets did, where ſhe is to arrive the 6th * of March, and there meet the third Jamaica packet from Jamaica, and the firſt Carolina packet returned from Charleſtown, and having exchanged mails with the latter, and taken on board thoſe brought by the former, and delivered to both her bags with letters for their reſpective diſtricts, proceed to England; and thoſe packets having exchanged their bags with letters for and from their reſpective diſtricts, are to proceed on their reſpective routes.†

The

* The ſhortneſs of the month of February will always occaſion a little derangement, but the length of the preceding and following months will balance it.

† My reaſons for ſending the Bermuda ſloops down to Jamaica, and the Engliſh packets along the Windward Iſlands, were theſe two; The firſt, that the voyage the Engliſh packets would have to make being ſhorter, ten packets would be ſufficient for the buſineſs, whereas if they went to Jamaica, eleven would be wanted, and the ſaving the expence of a packet was of ſome conſequence. The other, That large Bermuda ſloops were better adapted for beating up to the windward than the Engliſh packets, and would therefore perform the voyage with more certainty, and in leſs time. However, as the accommodation of Jamaica is deemed ſuperior to thoſe conſiderations, I have no objection to changing the deſtination of the Engliſh packets and

ſending

The plan for the ſouthern diſtrict being now complete, and the proper meaſures taken for connecting it with the northern diſtrict, I ſhall ſubmit a plan for giving equal facility and celerity to the correſpondence between Great Britain and the northern diſtrict, and connecting the two together, ſo as to form a complete and comprehenſive ſyſtem for the whole American correſpondence.

There is at preſent only one monthly packet eſtabliſhed between North America and Great Britain, and the packet goes from Falmouth to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where ſhe delivers her mails for Nova Scotia, New Brunſwick, St. John's, Canada, Newfoundland, and Cape Breton, and from thence proceeds to New York, where ſhe delivers her mails for all the United

ſending them to Jamaica, and ſending the Bermuda ſloops along the Windward Iſlands; and in that caſe *they* ſhould be ordered to come back by Bermuda, and the bags for that iſland, and the whole northern diſtrict, delivered to *them*, inſtead of the Carolina ſchooners, which might be ordered to return to Crooked Iſland directly from Charleſtown; and as their voyage would be ſo much ſhortened, and might be performed in 18 days, two ſchooners would be ſufficient for the purpoſe, and a ſaving of one of them, ſet off againſt the addition of an Engl iſh packet to accommodate Jamaica.

American States, and from thence returns to Falmouth. As ſhe muſt remain at Halifax and New York ſome days, in order to give time to the inhabitants of thoſe places to anſwer by her the letters ſhe brings them, her voyage takes up near five months, and occaſions the employment of ſix packets for that ſervice. The time of her ſtay at Halifax cannot, however, admit of even the people of Shelburne and Lunenburg, much leſs of New Brunſwick, or St. John's, Cape Breton or Newfoundland, anſwering the letters brought for them by the ſame packet; nor can the anſwers arrive at Halifax from Quebec in time for even the next ſucceeding packet. The like may be ſaid of the people of Albany, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolina's and Georgia, on the one ſide of New York, and of the people of Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and Maſſachuſets Bay on the other; ſo that in fact, the Engliſh traders can receive anſwers to their letters to Halifax and New York only, in the five months, by the return of theſe five months packets, and it muſt be ſix months before they can receive their anſwers from Shelburne and New Brunſwick and St. John's, Albany, Pennſylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and Maſſachuſets Bay, and ſeven

months

months before they can receive them from Quebec, Maryland, and Virginia, and no computation can be made of the time they may be received in from Newfoundland, as there is no regular conveyance for letters between that moſt important iſland and Halifax, or any other part of the world; ſo that the ſyſtem for this diſtrict is ſtill more defective and imperfect, than that for the ſouthern, and *no proviſion whatever is made in either of them, or in any other way, by Government, for the conveyance of letters from any part of the whole Continent of North America, to any one of the Weſt India Iſlands*; ſuch is the caſe at preſent, and therefore I truſt that a plan which aims at remedying ſuch great defects will meet with a candid conſideration.

Upon the ſame principles which I before eſtabliſhed, in my introduction to the preceding plan, and others which I do not think neceſſary to mention here, I have formed the following plan for carrying on the correſpondence between Great Britain and North America, as far ſouth as Virginia, and connected it with that propoſed for the Weſt Indies, and the three ſouthern ſtates, ſo as to give *every part* included in both, an opportunity of correſponding with

every

every other, and with Great Britain, *three times in every month.*

To effect this, eight Engliſh packets, and ſix Bermuda ſloops or brigs will only be wanted, and a land poſt three times in every month from Halifax to Quebec by New Brunſwick; ſhould, however, two mails a month be judged ſufficient for this diſtrict, the number of Engliſh packets may be reduced to ſix, and the Bermuda ſloops or brigs to four, and the land poſts from three to two a month. But as three mails in every month is the moſt perfect and connects more exactly with the Weſt India ſyſtem, I have formed my plan according to that idea.

NORTH AMERICAN PLAN.

MY propoſition then is, to ſend the Engliſh North American packets to Caplin Bay in Newfoundland, and no farther, except in the months of November, December, and January, when they ſhould go to Halifax; the voyage is much ſhorter from England to that Bay than to Halifax, and it can be made with the wind at North Weſt, which is the violent wind in that

quarter

quarter. I allow, however, for the packet out and home two months, though I have known the voyage home made in 15 days.* From Caplin Bay three of the ſix ſloops or brigs are to go to Halifax, and from thence to Rhode Iſland, and return from thence to Halifax and back to Caplin Bay; the other three are to go to Bermuda and from thence to Norfolk in Virginia, and return from thence to Bermuda, and ſo back to Caplin Bay; they will each make their voyage in leſs than 27 days, ſo that ſix will afford two for every nine days. I ſhall ſuppoſe then, that the firſt North American packet upon this plan ſhould ſail from Falmouth the firſt of February with mails for Newfound-

* The vaſt importance of the Newfoundland fiſhery to this country has been long known and admitted, and yet no proviſion has ever been made for enabling the fiſhers to carry on any correſpondence with their employers in England, or their employers with them, though nothing could more effectually promote the buſineſs than ſuch a correſpondence, as a ſpeedy conveyance of intelligence of the ſucceſs of the fiſhery would enable the merchants to judge what veſſels to ſend out to carry the fiſh to market, and on the other hand, the knowledge of where the fiſh was moſt likely to be in demand, would enable the fiſhers to ſend their fiſh to the proper markets; to convey ſuch intelligence, the owners are now frequently obliged to diſpatch light veſſels at their own charge, and to the great reproach of Government,

land,

land, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, St. John's, Canada, and all the American States (except the Carolina's and Georgia, which are provided for in the Weſt India plan) and for Bermuda alſo, and arrive at Caplin Bay in Newfoundland, the firſt of March, and from thence diſpatch one of the three brigs or ſloops, which I ſhall call the Halifax packets to Halifax, with the mails for Nova Scotia, St. John's, Canada, Maſſachuſets Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, New York, the Jerſeys and Pennſylvania, and one of the three brigs or ſloops, which I ſhall call the Bermuda packets to Bermuda, with the mail for that iſland, and thoſe for Virginia and Maryland, and having ſo done return to England. The ſecond Engliſh North American packet ſhould ſail on the 10th of February, and proceed to Caplin Bay as before, and diſpatch the ſecond Halifax packet and the ſecond Bermuda packet with their reſpective mails; and the third in like manner to ſail on the 19th of February and proceed as the others had done to Caplin Bay, and diſpatch the third Halifax packet, and the third Bermuda packet with their mails, and then return to England. The firſt Halifax packet to proceed to Haliftx by the 8th of March, and there deliver her mails for Nova Scotia, New Brunſwick,

wick and Quebec, and taking on board ſuch bags with letters as the Poſtmaſter may deliver to her for Maſſachuſets Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, New York, the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, and ſtaying twelve hours proceed to Rhode Iſland, where ſhe is to arrive the 15th, and there deliver the whole of her remaining mails and bags, and take on board the mails for England from all the ſaid ſtates; and alſo ſuch bags of letters as may be delivered to her by the Poſtmaſter from Nova Scotia, Canada, St. John's New Brunſwick, Newfoundland, or any of the Weſt India Iſlands, or for Virginia, Maryland, the Carolina's or Georgia; and after ſtaying twelve hours return to Halifax by the 22d, where having delivered the bags with letters for Nova Scotia, Canada, New Brunſwick and St. John's, and taken on board the mails from thoſe places for England, and any bags with letters for any of the Weſt India Iſlands, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolina's or Georgia, which may be delivered to her by the Poſtmaſter, and ſtaying twelve hours return to Caplin Bay by the 29th of March; and there meeting the fourth Engliſh North American packet exchange mails with her, and meeting there alſo the firſt Bermuda packet, returned from her

voyage, deliver to her all the bags with letters for the Weſt India Iſlands, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolina's and Georgia, and receive from her ſuch bags with letters, as ſhe may have brought up from Norfolk in Virginia, or Bermuda, the Bahamas, and Weſt India Iſlands, for any of the places in the diſtrict of the Halifax packet, and then proceed to Halifax, as ſhe had before done,

The firſt Bermuda packet to proceed to Bermuda, where ſhe is to arrive the 8th of March* and there deliver her mail for that iſland, and after ſtaying twelve hours, ſtand over to Norfolk in Virginia, where ſhe is to arrive the 15th, and there deliver her mails for Maryland and Virginia, and take on board the mails from thoſe ſtates for England; and alſo ſuch bags with letters for any of the Weſt India Iſlands, or any of the northern or ſouthern ſtates or Britiſh colonies in America, that the Poſtmaſter may deliver to her, and after ſtaying twelve

* The voyage from Caplin Bay to Bermuda being much longer than from Bermuda to Norfolk in Virginia, the arrival of this packet at Bermuda will not be ſo regular as I have ſuppoſed it, but the whole voyage may be performed in the 27 days with great eaſe.

hours

hours return to Bermuda by the 22d, and there deliver to the Carolina packet (or to the Poſtmaſter for her if ſhe be not there, as neither of theſe packets muſt wait for the other) all the bags with letters for the Weſt India Iſlands, and the Carolina's and Georgia, and receive from her or from the Poſtmaſter, if ſhe be not there, ſuch bags with letters, as ſhe may have brought from any of the northern ſtates or colonies, and after ſtaying twelve hours, return to Caplin Bay, where ſhe is to arrive the 29th of March; and meeting with the fourth Engliſh North American packet, ſhe is to exchange mails with her, and as ſhe will alſo meet with the firſt Halifax packet returned there from her voyage, deliver to her the bags with letters for the places within her circuit, and receive from her ſuch bags with letters for the Weſt India Iſlands, or the Carolina's or Georgia, as ſhe may have brought with her, and then proceed as ſhe had done before.

By this arrangement a letter from Halifax will be carried to Jamaica in 28 days, and the anſwer will be brought back in 28 more, and ſo in reſpect to all other places. Some deviation, as I before obſerved, muſt however neceſſarily be made from this plan in the months of No-

 vember,

vember, December, and January, when the Engliſh North American packet ſhould be ſent from Falmouth directly to Halifax, and the Halifax and Bermuda packets directed to meet her there, inſtead of Caplin Bay; but as only two of the three Halifax packets will then be wanted to go between Rhode Iſland and Halifax, the other one may make a voyage or two to Newfoundland, when the weather permits, or it is found neceſſary.

Both plans being now completed, the intercourſe will continue conſtant and regular with the whole connection every *nine days*; and although none of the places touched at, except Barbadoes and Jamaica, will have more than twelve hours to anſwer their letters by the ſame packet that brings them, yet as only nine days will intervene between the arrival of every two packets, there will be no juſt ground of complaint on that account. I have propoſed making Rhode Iſland the place for the Halifax packet to deliver and take up the northern and middle American States mails at, inſtead of New York, becauſe the voyage is ſhorter, and the harbour open all the year, *and for other reaſons not neceſſary to mention*; but if it be thought

thought more fit to ſend the packet to New York inſtead of Rhode Iſland, the change will make no alteration in the plans, as there is time enough allowed for either voyage.

To give Ireland the full benefit of this plan, and ſecure the whole of her correſpondence to it, the Engliſh packets place of ſailing and arrival ſhould be changed from Falmouth to Milford Haven, and the letters for Ireland directed to be made up in ſeparate mails from thoſe of England in the Weſt Indies and North America, and as ſoon as the packets arrive at Hubberſtone, delivered to the Waterford packet, to carry over to Ireland, and the Engliſh Weſt India and North American packets directed to receive the mails from Ireland, in like manner at Hubberſtone, and carry them out with them; this would occaſion a great increaſe of the revenue, and be ſuch an advantage to the trade of Ireland, as would put that kingdom in good humour with the Adminiſtration that obtained it; but as the Corniſh members might feel hurt by ſuch a removal, I would propoſe to compromiſe the matter with them, by appointing every other American packet only to ſail from and arrive at Milford Haven, which would give Falmouth

five

five American packets every two months, inſtead of the monthly ones that now go from thence, ſo that Falmouth would be a gainer by this plan of ſix packets in the year, more than ſhe has at preſent, which muſt ſilence all complaints or oppoſition from that quarter; and once in eighteen days may be a frequent enough conveyance for the generality of the Iriſh merchants correſpondence with America, eſpecially as they would get their letters ſo much ſooner after the packets arrival than they now do, and could take proportionably ſo much longer time in anſwering them, they having now a daily conveyance to and from Hubberſtone. The intervention of eighteen days between the ſailing of every two packets would give time for the northern as well as the ſouthern parts of that kingdom, to anſwer the letters by every ſubſequent packet, which were brought by the preceding one, and the people of Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Dublin, who are the chief exporters to the colonies, might avail themſelves of the intermediate Falmouth packets, to anſwer their letters brought by every Milford Haven one. But ſhould all the American packets continue to ſail from and return to Falmouth, none of the towns in Ireland, except Dublin, could poſſibly

anſwer

anſwer the letters brought by any of the American packets by the return of the next; for, as after the American mails arrived in London, the letters for Ireland would be four days in getting to Dublin, and the anſwers would be four days in returning to London; eight of the nine days between the ſailing of the packets would be ſpent in the travelling of the poſt between London and Dublin, and conſequently only one day would be left for the people of Ireland to receive and anſwer their letters in, which therefore none but the people of Dublin could avail themſelves of; indeed the people of Cork and Kinſale would not have more than three days to anſwer their letters by the ſecond packet that ſailed after they received them, as fifteen days of the eighteen would be ſpent in the poſts travelling between London and thoſe places, whereas the people of London would have the whole nine days, and the people of Briſtol ſix; Liverpool four, and the moſt diſtant parts of England at leaſt one whole day to anſwer by the next packet, the letters brought to them by a former one. Nor would the removal of the packets from Falmouth to Milford Haven deprive any of them of that advantage, as the diſtance from Milford Haven to

London

London is not greater than from Falmouth to London, and therefore, as the trading intereſt of England can receive no ſort of injury by the removal, and it is of moſt eſſential importance to the trade of Ireland, other inferior conſiderations ought not to be allowed to ſtand in the way of ſo great a national object to that kingdom, nor would that loyal but high ſpirited and ſenſible people brook ſo offenſive and injurious an inſtance of diſregard and partiality in the Britiſh Adminiſtration, as the preferring the petty advantage a little borough in Cornwall derives from a few travellers, to the *commercial intereſts of all Ireland.*

I have mentioned Crooked Iſland as the place of rendezvous for the three packets in the ſouthern diſtrict, becauſe I am informed it is a good and ſafe road, and has plenty of excellent water, and exactly in the way from Jamaica by the Windward paſſage; and Caplin Bay in Newfoundland for the rendezvous of the three packets in the northern diſtrict, as the place moſt convenient for all the three.

To make my plans more eaſily underſtood, I have marked by dotted lines upon a chart of

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the Atlantic Ocean, the tracts of each of the ſeveral packets, and referred to them by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, but it is only for the purpoſe of explanation I have done it, and not with any intention of deſcribing their exact courſes; any diſcovery therefore that I have gone to the leeward of a rock, or ſhoal, or iſland, when I ſhould have kept to the windward, or the contrary, will bring no imputation upon the plans, or the want of accuracy in their author, for I am not propoſing any improvement in the manner of navigating the packets, but only mean to ſhew how their voyages may be rendered more beneficial to the public.

PART

THE

SECOND.

PART the SECOND.

BEING a native of Ireland, and receiving the firſt rudiments of my political education from one of the ableſt and beſt informed ſtateſmen that iſland ever produced, the late Sir Richard Cox, I was early well acquainted with the ſtate of that great, but unknown and neglected member of the Britiſh empire, and ſo thorough a knowledge had I obtained of its wants and grievances, that ſoon after I returned from America, in the year 1761, I was able to take up their conſideration, and lay ſome propoſals for their redreſs before a reſpectable body of Iriſh noblemen and gentlemen, who called themſelves the Donnegall Society, whoſe avowed purpoſe was to promote the intereſts of their country, but which ended, as Iriſh meetings generally do, in toaſting its friends in

the Britiſh Parliament, and drinking full bumpers, with three cheers, to the proſperity of Ireland. And in the year 1763, when the peace was negociating, I preſented to the Earl of Hallifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, a ſtatement of the comparatively higher duties impoſed by Spain upon Iriſh linens, than upon thoſe of France, and joined the late Mr. Ellis, Agent to the Linen Board, in ſoliciting his Lordſhip's good offices to obtain an equalization, which his Lordſhip aſſured me he would mention to the Earl of Bute, but nothing was then done, or *has yet been done in the buſineſs.*

The general indiſpoſition of the great men of Ireland, to do any thing for their country, and their fear of obſtructing their own promotion in England, by being ſuſpected of attachment to it, left me no hopes of their ſupport in carrying into execution the plan I had formed for promoting the proſperity of Ireland, in coincidence with that of Great Britain and America, and combining them in one common intereſt, unleſs I could give an influence to the great body of the people over them, and engage *them* to exert it for their own, and their coun-

try's

try's intereſt and advantage. The adminiſtration of Ireland (for it never had any thing like a ſyſtematic government) had long been carried on by contract, and a reciprocity of jobs between the contractors and thoſe birds of paſſage, the Lord Lieutenants and their ſecretaries, without the leaſt attention to the ſtate, or intereſts of the country; and as the members of the Houſe of Commons held their ſeats for life, there was no ſort of intercourſe between them and their conſtituents, much leſs had they any influence over them. The government therefore of Ireland, though in ſpeculation an exact picture of that of England, was, in fact, an ariſtocracy, or rather an oligarchy, and therefore my firſt object was to demoliſh the corrupt fabric, and to give the people their proper ſhare in the government, and compel their repreſentatives to pay attention to their intereſts. The obvious means of effecting this was to procure a limitation to the duration of Parliament, and with that view I drew up the paper, No. 1, in the Appendix, and preſented it to Lord Frederick Campbell, when he was appointed Secretary to Lord Townſhend. How far that paper influenced the meaſure I know not, but

Ireland owes the octennial act to that adminiſtration.

My ſituation of Under Secretary of State, enabled me to diſcover the ſentiments of the King's confidential friends towards Ireland, and it was with exceedingly great ſatisfaction I perceived in them all, particularly in Lord North, the moſt liberal and friendly ſentiments towards it, inſomuch that I entertained the ſtrongeſt hopes that if we ſucceeded in ſettling matters with America, every part of my plan would be adopted.

The firſt meaſure I propoſed was, the admiſſion of the Iriſh into a participation of the Newfoundland fiſhery; and when I found my propoſal reliſhed by the miniſters, I drew up the paper, No. 2, which I put into Sir Stanier Porteen's hands, to deliver to Sir John Blaquire, then Secretary to Lord Harcourt, who was in London, but with whom I had not then the honour to be acquainted, and afterwards tranſmitted to him the further propoſitions contained in my letter to him, No. 3. That very ſpirited and ſenſible gentleman, the firſt Iriſh Secretary that, I believe, ever thought of ſoliciting

liciting any commercial favour for Ireland, adopted my propoſitions reſpecting the fiſhery, and purſued them with ſuch zeal and ability, that the bill was immediately brought in and paſſed here, and a ſimilar one in Ireland, a copy of which Sir John ſent me in his letter, No. 4, The ſenſe that gentleman had of my ſervices to Ireland, and Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration, will be beſt ſeen in his own letter to Lord Harcourt, upon an application I had made to him in behalf of an unfortunate brother, which he was ſo candid and honourable as to ſend to me open, with permiſſion to keep a copy of it, and which I have given in the Appendix, No. 5.

The acquiſition of Lord George Germaine to the Cabinet was a fortunate circumſtance for Ireland, and inſured the accompliſhment of my plan, which I opened fully to his Lordſhip, and which he found to correſpond ſo entirely with his own ideas, that it was his conſtant declaration to his intimate friends ever afterwards, that whoever wanted to know any thing of Ireland or America muſt come to me. To remove the abſurd prejudices which their patriots had inſtilled and inculcated into the people of Ireland, and to give them right notions of their po-

litical

litical ſituations and commercial rights, in order to prepare them to accept my intended propoſitions, and give them their full ſupport, I drew up and privately circulated the Tract, intituled, "*Conſiderations on the State of Ireland*," in the Appendix, No. 6, taking care that I ſhould not be known for the author, and I find it has been generally attributed to Mr. Jenkinſon, (now Lord Hawkeſbury) who never ſaw the manuſcript. And in my Pamphlet in defence of the Quebec Act,* I placed the harſh and impolitic conduct of the Iriſh Proteſtants towards their Roman Catholic fellow ſubjects in ſo ſtrong a light, and treated their prejudices in a note with ſuch ſtriking ridicule, that its publication ſerved more to reconcile them to that perſecuted people than all the laboured appeals of their advocates; and whoever attentively reads Mr. Grattan's and Mr. Ord's ſpeeches, for which the one was rewarded with a grant of 50,000l. and the other with a penſion of 2000l. per annum, will find the whole ſubſtance of both compriſed in thoſe publications.

The next ſtep which I took, with Lord George Germaine's concurrence, was to open

* A ſecond edition of which, with other papers, is preparing for the preſs.

a part of my plan to the Iriſh adminiſtration, and to get them to make the application for allowing Ireland a participation in the trade of the Britiſh Colonies; and as I had then no correſpondence with Sir Richard Heron, I wrote my letter, No. 8, to my friend Sir Lucius O'Brian, which produced the letter from Sir Richard Heron to me, No. 9.

Soon after, Sir Richard Heron came to England, and from his converſation I found that the Iriſh Privy Council were afraid of giving offence to Adminiſtration, by making the application I had pointed out; but upon my aſſuring him that all I propoſed they ſhould aſk for would be readily granted, he went back with the determination to make the application, but before his departure, recollecting that no ſuch application had ever been made by the Iriſh Privy Council, and that there was no precedent for it in their books, he begged I would give him a draft of the letter which it would be proper to ſend over, which I accordingly drew up. The delay in tranſmitting the demand, however, occaſioned me to write the letter to him, No. 10; and as our correſpondence from thenceforward became regular, I have only to refer to

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the ſeries of it, as arranged in the Appendix, to ſhew the part I took in a buſineſs which all mankind had hitherto looked upon as impoſſible to ſucceed in, but which was accompliſhed with very little noiſe or buſtle, and with the greateſt cordiality and moſt perfect good humour on both ſides. The whole of this correſpondence I ſent up from Pembrokeſhire to Mr. Roſe, on the 17th of February, 1785, for Mr. Pitt's information, when I firſt heard of his Commercial Propoſitions to Ireland: but ſuch is the tranſcendant ſuperiority of intuitive omniſcience over the dull acquiſitions of experience and ſcientific knowledge, that the receipt of my letter was not even acknowledged to me, and I believe not one of my papers were ever read, for when I applied to Mr. Roſe for them, at Lord Sackville's deſire, who wiſhed to ſee them before he ſpoke upon the Propoſitions, they were returned to me in the very form I had ſent them up, and my own letter to Mr. Roſe upon the top of them.

An intimation had been given to me by Sir Lucius O'Brian, in 1778, of the injury Ireland ſuſtained by the embargo upon butter, and I repreſented the grievance in ſuch a light, that its

its removal was ordered; and the paper, No. 44, with the letter, No. 45, from that moſt able and firm friend of Ireland, the late Speaker, will teſtify to whoſe application it was owing that the embargo upon the beef was likewiſe taken off.

A reſtriction injurious to Ireland which had been clandeſtinely inſerted in the fiſhery acts, I got removed the next ſeſſion, and obtained a declaration in the act of Parliament that Iriſh ſhips were to be deemed Britiſh in all reſpects whatever.

I had propoſed to Mr. Eden, when he was appointed Secretary to Ireland, the eſtabliſhment of a national Bank, which was a part of my principal plan, and upon receiving his letter, No. 46, from Ireland, I ſent him the anſwer, No. 47.

I have not given this detail of paſt tranſactions merely to emblazon my own merit, or to deprive others of the importance they had aſſumed from them, but to ſet the public, and eſpecially my countrymen, right in two very

material points in which they have been much deceived, or deceived themſelves. The one is, that all the conceſſions made to Ireland, and all the advantages given to her trade antecedent to the year 1782, were *forced* from the Adminiſtration by the terror of the Iriſh Volunteers. The other, that there was no plan, no ſyſtem, or any connection, either political or commercial, in what was done, but that one thing was given up after another, juſt as the neceſſity urged, or the conceding humour prevailed. For whoever reads over the correſpondence in the Appendix, muſt be convinced that the whole Cabinet, and particularly Lord North, and my much-lamented noble friend Lord Sackville, who teſtified the moſt friendly, generous, and enlarged ſentiments towards that country, throughout the whole proceeding; and that every thing which was done, was well conſidered, conſiſtent, and wiſe; that the plan was formed and agreed to before any volunteers were raiſed, and would have been carried into execution to the ſame extent if they had never exiſted; and when the late indigeſted, raſh, ignorant, and abortive management is contraſted with what was then effected, I truſt thoſe noble

perſons, with whom I had the honour to ſerve, will not ſuffer by the compariſon. I truſt too, that the Earl of Buckinghamſhire and Sir Richard Heron will receive, through this publication, that ſhare of the public regard which their hearty deſire and earneſt endeavours to promote the intereſts of Ireland and the general welfare, ſo well entitle them to.

As I well know that the generous and warm hearts of my countrymen, who may peruſe theſe papers, will incite them to inquire what has Ireland done for a man who has done ſo much for her, when ſhe does ſo much for thoſe who never rendered her any ſervice; I think it fair to ſet down an anſwer, which I ſhall do in the words of St. Paul, that *I have not ought to accuſe my nation of*, nor either of the adminiſtrations who had the credit of my ſervices. Lord Harcourt obtained the office I ſolicited for my brother; and beſides the letters to me from Sir Richard Heron, which ſo repeatedly expreſs the Earl of Buckingham's kind diſpoſition towards me, that gentleman made me, on the part of his Excellency, an offer of a handſome penſion, for myſelf or Mrs. Knox, upon the Iriſh eſta-

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bliſhment; but as I had then good hope of recovering my American property, which produced me an income equal to all my deſires for myſelf and my family, I declined the generous offer, preferring the gratification of being able to reflect that I had rendered my country more eſſential ſervices than had ever been performed by any of her ſons, and that I was the only one of them, that had ever declined her bounty, or refuſed to be a burthen upon her. Could I, indeed, have foreſeen what has ſince come to paſs, that I ſhould not only be deprived of my eſtate, which remitted me from 1700 *l.* to 2000 *l.* per ann. but of all my offices, which yielded me 2500 *l.* more, and that a penſion, which pays 440 *l.* per ann. would be here deemed an adequate compenſation, not only for them, but for all my ſervices alſo, I confeſs I ſhould have been leſs ambitious of diſplaying my diſintereſtedneſs in the eyes of my countrymen.

Since my removal from office I have had no opportunity of bringing forward any of the remaining parts of my plan reſpecting Ireland, nor have I had any epiſtolary intercourſe with the chief governors of that kingdom, except upon

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the ſubject of the American *correſpondence*; for I thought it right to appriſe the Marquis of Buckingham of what I had propoſed, in order to give his Excellency an opportunity of laying his claim to the merit of obtaining ſo conſiderable an advantage to the trade of Ireland, by an early and ſtrenuous application for the ſtation of the alternate packets at leaſt, at Milford-Haven, and I accordingly tranſmitted to his Excellency a complete copy of my paper, with my letter, No. 48, Feb. 27th, 1788. Had his Excellency judged it neceſſary to take any ſtep for augmenting the inhabitants, and preventing emigration from Ireland, I preſume my ideas would have been called for, and in that caſe I ſhould not have been found unprepared or backward to communicate. I had taken the liberty to ſuggeſt a meaſure for the like purpoſes to Mr. Pitt, in a paper I ſent to Mr. Roſe, No. 49, which I never heard more of; but as, notwithſtanding the diſregard ſhewn to thoſe objects by thoſe great men, I ſtill conceive them to be deſerving ſome attention, and as the ſame meaſures will in a good degree ſerve for both kingdoms, and the ſame reaſons will excuſe me from making at preſent any farther diſcloſure of my plans

to

to either, than I did in the paper I ſent to Mr. Roſe, I ſhall beg leave to refer you to the copy of it, which I have given in the Appendix; but ſhould your reſpectable ſociety think proper to take up the conſideration of thoſe important objects, I ſhall be at all times ready to furniſh you with every information I am poſſeſſed of.

AS

AS during the whole of the tranſactions to which the following correſpondence refers, I had the buſineſs of the American Department to attend to, and which never ſtood ſtill on that account, the reader will not expect more than a clear and plain communication of my ideas in ſuch of the letters as were written by me, for, in truth, they were all written upon the ſpur of the occaſion, and I had not time to reviſe, much leſs to copy any of them.

I have not aſked the permiſſion of the writers of any of the others for publiſhing them, but as they muſt all derive honour from them, I truſt they will excuſe the liberty I have taken.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Paper delivered to Lord Frederick Campbell, when appointed Secretary to Ireland, 1767.

THE ſtate of Ireland in reſpect to defence, diſtribution of juſtice, liberty of the ſubject, and almoſt every branch of internal policy, (revenue only excepted) is the worſt of any country in Europe; its calamities are ſtill aggravated by the unwillingneſs of the people to be relieved from them. The government of that kingdom has been for ſeveral years purely ariſtocratical, notwithſtanding the apparent form is the ſame as that of Great Britain. For as the King's repreſentative reſides but while the Parliament is ſitting, he never has it in his power to exerciſe government uncontrolled, and as his attention muſt then be chiefly engaged in legiſlation, he has no opportunity of diſplaying his executive authority, and for that reaſon, he is rather contemplated by the people as a branch

of the legiſlature than the executor of the laws. The vacation of Parliament, which in this kingdom is the time for the kingly power to manifeſt itſelf and recover its luſtre, which is always eclipſed by the ſitting of Parliament, is in Ireland the ſeaſon for the ariſtocratic influence to extend itſelf; the adminiſtration of government being then committed to the leaders in the Houſe of Commons.

This is the ſource of all the mal-adminiſtration in that kingdom. The party leaders will always be more attentive to the ſupport of their own authority, than to the well-being of the ſtate. Popularity, or the general voice of the people, is not very material to them, becauſe the members of Parliament being choſen for life, they are not dependent on the good will of the people for their ſeats. The attention of the leaders is, therefore, confined in a great degree to the members themſelves and their friends. Inſtead, then, of equal juſtice to all the King's ſubjects, the laws are frequently permitted to be violated with impunity, by thoſe who have intereſt with members of Parliament. Rights of commonage are taken away from the tenants without any compenſation, and all preſentments of ſuch grievances are rejected by the grand juries, nor will

an

an Attorney General move for redreſs. No inquiry after the perpetrators of crimes the moſt ſhocking, if ſuſpected to be perſons of condition; witneſſes publickly bought off, eſcapes managed, or pardons procured, when all other methods of evading juſtice have been found ineffectual. Neglect of duty and falſe returns in the military officers connived at, and the fortifications ſuffered to fall to ruin, notwithſtanding the frequent grants of Parliament for their repair, for ſimilar reaſons. All public works converted into flagrant jobs, and the private gratifications voted by Parliament, diſtributed without even the colour of deſert or impartiality. Commitments to priſon are neither reſtrained nor limited by law; any ſubject may be confined, and none can demand his trial or releaſe. People of any intereſt have nothing to fear from this want of protection in the laws, for the reaſons before given; and the wretches who ſuffer, have no means of making their grievances known, or of obtaining redreſs. Aſſaults upon the lower people, if committed by a gentleman, are never puniſhed. No grand jury would find a bill againſt him, nor is the practice of the Crown office there, equally in favour of the ſufferer with what it is here. The receipt of the revenue is the only

thing attended to, and its produce is amply ſufficient for all the purpoſes of Government; there is, however, evident marks of partiality to the better ſort, and oppreſſion of the poorer, in the laying of ſome of the taxes from whence it comes. The hearth-money tax is a flagrant inſtance, as there is no exception of a ſingle hearth to any who does not receive alms, and there is no increaſe of the rate, let the number of hearths in a houſe be what they may. The coach duty is alſo an inſtance of the partiality of the great ones to themſelves above the middling people, for no man pays for more than one carriage, let him keep as many as he will, and he who keeps but one, pays the ſame for it.

All theſe evils being reducible to this one, the tyranny of the higher orders over the lower, the redreſs of them is, on that account, exceedingly difficult, and the chief Governor who aims at it, muſt expect oppoſition from thoſe who have the power to injure him, they being the oppreſſors; and he can hope for little aſſiſtance from thoſe he ſerves, who are the oppreſſed. I have taken no notice of the Houſe of Lords, becauſe, in effect, there is none in Ireland; the Privy Council compoſe the ſecond branch of the legiſlature in that kingdom. The

Lords

Lords muſt be veſted with authority, however, before the preſent oppreſſive ſyſtem can be diſſolved.

The Crown has now no uſe of its Peers, and without their aid, the Commons will always be too ſtrong for it. The two points to which a chief Governor's whole adminiſtration ſhould tend, ought to be, the exaltation of the Peers, and the protection of the lower people. The depreſſion of the Ariſtocracy will follow of courſe; but any meaſure directly for that purpoſe would bring deſtruction on a chief Governor. The meaſures which I ſhould propoſe, would be ſlow in their operation, and whoſe tendency would not immediately be perceived. Popular bills might be begun in the Lords, and ſome of the Iriſh Peers, who are able men, ſent over for that purpoſe.

The conſtant reſidence of the Lord Lieutenant would be of all things the moſt neceſſary; but as the uſe intended to be made of that ſtep has been ſo publicly declared, it might be better to poſtpone that for ſome time, at leaſt, until ſome other things were done. Directions ſhould be given to the Judges of Aſſize, to inquire after grievances among the lower people; and

where

where preſentments were rejected by the Grand Juries, to order the Attorney General to proſecute *ex officio*, at the expence of the Crown. The Judges ſhould alſo be directed to quaſh all preſentments of roads or bridges, or ſuch like jobbs, which were calculated for the accommodation of particular gentlemen, and not of public utility. In fine, to encourage the lower people to look up to them for protection againſt the 'ſquires, and to teach them ſomething of independency.

Limiting the duration of Parliaments would, in my humble opinion, be a meaſure of great importance to theſe ends. There is much to be ſaid for and againſt a ſeptennial bill: but, to me, the arguments in favour of prerogative ſeem to promote that bill. It may be worth while to inveſtigate them a little. A Houſe of Commons once choſen, without limited duration, it is ſaid, will have no apprehenſion but of diſobliging the Crown, becauſe, from the Crown only will the members have to fear for the continuance of their ſeats. But it is to be conſidered, that the meaſures of the Crown are not always unpopular, and, that when they are not, the Crown loſes the weight of the people with the members. The purpoſes of the

Crown,

Crown, I ſuppoſe to be the good of the nation, and the oppoſition, I fear, is an oppoſition to public good, for the ſake of private advantages or factious combinations: the buſineſs is how to controul ſuch oppoſitions.

If a Parliament has an unlimited duration, the fear of a faction will be that of a ſudden diſſolution by the Crown; and to provide againſt that, they will go all lengths to flatter the prejudices of the people. If the Crown diſſolves them, in ſuch a caſe, they are ſure of being re-choſen, and the Crown loſes by the exerciſe of its dernier prerogative. If the people be with the Crown, and againſt their repreſentatives, the Crown can diſſolve them, the ſeptennial bill notwithſtanding. But the legal expiration of their term is a much ſafer ground for the Crown to get rid of them on, than by a prerogative diſſolution. The exertion of that prerogative will ever be unpopular, and may change the minds of the people who are favourers of the Crown, whereas a diſſolution of courſe leaves the Crown at liberty to take meaſures for the annoyance of its opponents, without the charge of making the occaſion. Beſides, the acquaintance with buſineſs acquired by members from long ſitting, the factions to be formed, and the cut-

ting

ting off all projects for oppoſition in future elections, make long Parliaments infinitely more formidable than thoſe of limited duration.

The Crown will always find means of having its ſervants choſe; and it is no ſmall advantage to meet with veteran troops, an undiſciplined army. I once had the honour of being a Miniſter in an American Colony,* and I held my poſt for ſix years; the three firſt I had to do with the ſame aſſembly, but I had an annual one for the other three; and if I wiſhed to make the Crown abſolute, I would propoſe a bill for an annual Parliament. Experience is clearly on

* I was appointed one of his Majeſty's Council and Provoſt Marſhal of Georgia by the Earl of Halifax, in the year 1756, to aſſiſt in promoting the ſettlement, and forming the civil conſtitution of that infant colony, the newly appointed governor, my earlieſt and moſt intimate friend Mr. Ellis, a gentleman whoſe tranſcendent talents had then raiſed him to that high office, and afterwards made him the confidential friend of the Earl of Egremont when Secretary of State, and ſtill renders him the delight and improver of all the literate ſocieties in the different countries he viſits, as well as in his own. He uſed to ſay of himſelf and me, when conſulting upon the little affairs of that colony, that we were like two fire engines erected to raiſe water for a cabbage garden.—What we did for that Colony will be ſeen in a future publication.

my ſide. It was a Houſe of Commons that had ſat ſixteen years, that propoſed the bill for excluding the King's brother; and it is evident to all men, that the Crown has leſs influence in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons than in the Britiſh. The ſum is, no Houſe of Commons will long act in oppoſition to the ſentiments of the people, unleſs they have power to re-chuſe themſelves; if they have *that*, the Crown can never diſſolve them, nor will their legal diſſolution be of any importance. If they be dependent on the people for their ſeats, they will be careful not to forfeit the regard of the people, becauſe their regard will make them independent of the Crown. If the Crown has any influence in the elections, a diſſolution of courſe is the only way for the Crown to avail itſelf of that influence, and a prerogative diſſolution will deſtroy all poſſibility of advantage from it. As a means therefore of reducing the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to a Democracy inſtead of the Ariſtocracy they now form, I would adviſe a ſeptennial bill. Such a bill would greatly ſerve to raiſe the lower ſort, and to prevent the oppreſſions of the gentry, and, in every view, would much ſerve diſtributive juſtice, and to releaſe the tenants from their abject ſervility to their landlords.

No. II.

Paper delivered to Sir John Blaquire, in 1776.

UNTIL the act of the 12th of Charles the Second, called the Navigation Act, there was no reſtraint upon the Colonies exporting their commodities in foreign bottoms, and to foreign ports; by that act they are prohibited from exporting any of their commodities except in Engliſh, Iriſh, or Welch ſhips, three-fourths of the crew to be Engliſh. That act did not prevent the importation into Ireland of any American products directly from the Colonies in Iriſh ſhips, nor were any commodities whatever prohibited to be imported into the Colonies from Ireland.

The 15th of Charles the Second is the firſt act which reſtrains Ireland from a free communication with the Colonies, by enacting, that all commodities of the growth or manufacture of Europe ſhall be imported into the Colonies from England, Wales, or Berwick, and in Engliſh built ſhips. Such ſhips are, however, allowed to take in proviſions in Ireland. That the ſhips muſt be Engliſh, is further declared in this

this act, by requiring the Master to produce to the Governor on his arrival in the Colonies, a certificate, that the ships are English built, or belonging to England, Wales, or Berwick.

By another clause in that act, all fish is prohibited from being imported into England, except in English built ships or vessels, or ships or vessels belonging to England, Wales, or Berwick.

The act of the 22d and 23d of Charles the Second directs, that the word *Ireland* shall be left out of the bonds to be given for the due landing of enumerated commodities, and therefore they can no longer be imported into Ireland from the Colonies. All such commodities, and every other except hats and woollen manufactures, may be imported into any of our Colonies from any other of them, and in ships belonging to any of the Colonies, and the products and manufactures of every Colony, except hats and woollens, may be exported from any Colony to another in Colony ships.

By the 10th and 11th of King William, for the encouragement of fishing on the banks

of Newfoundland, all his Majeſty's ſubjects are authoriſed to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland, *as heretofore*; even if theſe words ſhould be allowed to include the Iriſh, they cannot avail themſelves of it, for the iſland of Newfoundland is an Engliſh plantation, and no ſhip belonging to Ireland can enter any of its harbours; neither can any fiſhing tackle or materials for the fiſhery be carried from Ireland; nor can proviſions be carried there in ſhips belonging to Ireland, and therefore it is impoſſible for the Iriſh to carry on any fiſhery at Newfoundland. The ſame may be ſaid reſpecting the Whale and Oil fiſhery, in the gulph and river St. Lawrence, and coaſt of Labradore, while every Colony is intitled to a full participation in both with the people of England, and their ſhips allowed to be Engliſh.

No. III.

To Sir JOHN BLAQUIRE.

Whitehall, 12 *March*, 1776.

(*Copy.*)

MY earneſt wiſhes for the proſperity of Ireland, and in that for the honour of its preſent adminiſtration, incite me to ſend you the inclоſed

closed copy of a letter from a gentleman much connected with the New England southern whale fishery, but a true friend to this country, and to acquaint you, that the principal proprietors of the vessels fitted out from Rhode Island and Nantucket last year for that fishery, were lately here, and I had much conversation with them. I endeavoured to direct their attention to Ireland for the seat of their fishery, now that they can no longer carry it on from North America; and enumerated the many advantages they would have in fitting out from thence, which they appeared sensible of, but opposed to them the want of men of sufficient capital to make the necessary advances, and the probability of a bounty being given by Parliament here upon the importation of bone. These objections, Sir John, point out the difficulties which Ireland labours under in the establishment of a fishery, and yet I think they are to be removed by the exertions of an able administration. One great object of the plan I formerly opened to you was the *attracting the unemployed money of Europe into Ireland.* My present situation, and the circumstances of American affairs, will not admit of my making Ireland a visit for the purpose of putting matters in train for bringing my pro-

propoſitions before Parliament; waving that buſineſs therefore *for the preſent*, I will mention to you what occurs to me as the beſt means of promoting the Iriſh fiſhery, and inducing the New Englanders to make Ireland the ſeat of their whale fiſhery. A bounty, ſimilar to our Greenland bounty, upon all ſhips fitted out from Ireland for the whale fiſhery; a premium upon the erecting of boiling houſes for the blubber; an application to miniſtry here to allow the importation of oil from Ireland duty free, a bounty in Ireland on the exportation of oil from thence. The grant of a bounty, ſimilar to the Greenland bounty, on whale bone imported into Ireland by ſhips fitted out from thence; the permiſſion to import whale bone from Ireland into England duty free.—The Iriſh Parliament taking the ſtart in this buſineſs, of whatever may be deſigned here, will turn the attention of the New Englanders to that country, and the manifeſt profit to be made by this fiſhery, will induce the monied agents here to ſupply them. We can have no hopes of obtaining bounties here on ſhips fitted out from Ireland, but if you give the ſame bounties, and the importation from Ireland into England is free, it will operate very nearly as much

much in favour of Ireland as if the bounties were given here. I think when you are doing this, it would be a good time to give a bounty (ſimilar to that given here by the Act of laſt ſeſſion) to the firſt twenty ſhips fitting out from Ireland for the Newfoundland fiſhery. No opportunity can ever be more favourable than the preſent for puſhing any meaſure for increaſing the navigation of Ireland. Indeed I do not think it would be difficult to obtain an act, declaring Iriſh ſhips to be Engliſh to all legal intents. You will pardon me for ſtating theſe matters to you, for I am ſure you are anxious to mark Lord Harcourt's adminiſtration by public ſervices; and the readineſs you have ſhewn to receive any communications from me with that view, leaves me no doubt of your giving this the attention it may deſerve.

No. IV.

Dublin Caſtle, 14 *May*, 1776.

My dear Sir,

IT muſt be ſome ſatisfaction to you to ſee how little your ideas are unattended to, how likely they are

are to proſper for the good of this country. My unuſually hurried time has put it out of my power to enter upon this correſpondence in the way I could have wiſhed, and that it deſerved; but the cauſe has not ſuffered, my friend Sir Lucius, who profeſſes a million of obligations for my having conſigned him to your acquaintance, has followed it up with his wonted diligence. I feel a remorſe of conſcience when I ſay, that I have been engaged in any buſineſs which could ſuperſede this; aſſure yourſelf it has not been in pleaſure.

I am, with unfeigned eſteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful

humble ſervant,

J. BLAQUIRE.

This letter tranſmitted copy of a bill for the improvement of the fiſheries of Ireland, giving bounties to the Newfoundland ſhips.

No. V.

No. V.

(Copy.)

From Sir JOHN BLAQUIRE *to Lord* HARCOURT.

Greenwich, 20 *Oct.* 1776.

My Lord,

MR. William Knox, the Deputy Secretary of State, was with me yeſterday to acquaint me with the death of Mr. Ellis, Agent in London for the Iriſh Linen Board, and to requeſt my beſt offices with your Excellency to obtain this employment for his brother; *I owed at leaſt this much to Mr. William Knox, the kingdom of Ireland owe him a great deal more; nor is your Excellency entirely free from being indebted to him for a very warm and ſucceſsful exertion of very ſuperior abilities in the cauſe of the ſeveral bounties granted to Ireland under your Excellency's adminiſtration, the fiſheries in particular; and in the late extenſion of the bounties to the ſouthward, he has not, he cannot have a competitor in your favour.* I fancy your Excellency will find that Mr. Knox is a perſon of eminent character, unqueſtionably very fit for the office, and with the advantage of recurring, upon important occaſions, for the

 aſſiſtance

assistance which his brother, from ability, inclination, the most extensive knowledge of the commercial interests of Ireland, and the situation he is happily placed in, can give: I have not a doubt but the most beneficial consequences might accrue to Ireland, supposing your Excellency has not engaged yourself for the appointment, and on any other grounds than those I would not have mentioned this matter, although Mr. William Knox is a person for whom I have a high regard.

I am,

With sincere respect and attachment,

Your Excellency's devoted

And obliged servant,

JOHN BLAQUIRE.

No. VI.

Considerations on the State of IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is the common misfortune of all dependencies of great empires, that such of their citizens as are able to make their way to the metro-

metropolis, ſeldom return to their native province, or bring the knowledge or influence they have acquired to its ſervice. No country feels this misfortune more ſenſibly than Ireland; for notwithſtanding it is no more than a member of the Britiſh empire, its conſtitution partakes ſo much of a ſeparate ſtate, that almoſt the whole of its polity is left to the arrangement of its own domeſtic government; and beſides the aptneſs of men, removed to a diſtance from the ſeat of empire, to be ſwayed by early prejudices or local attachments, their beſt calculated projects for promoting the particular intereſt of their country muſt ever run the hazard of being defeated, by claſhing with the particular intereſt of ſome other member, or interfering with the general and combined intereſts of the whole.

To the want of a knowledge of the general and combined intereſt of the empire, in thoſe who have had the direction of the affairs in Ireland ſince the Revolution, may in a great meaſure be aſcribed the ſlow progreſs Ireland has made in population, cultivation, commerce, and wealth, compared with other parts of the Britiſh dominions.

It is not my preſent purpoſe to point out inſtances of proof of this aſſertiou, but there is one ſo ſtriking and obvious, that I cannot help mentioning it.

In the 19th year of the reign of James the Iſt. the whole number of white inhabitants in what was then called Virginia, which comprehended the greateſt part of the Britiſh territories in North America, amounted to no more than 4000, at which time Ireland contained at leaſt a million; yet, with ſuch a prodigious ſtart, we have ſeen Ireland, in little more than a century, overtaken by America, and in ſome particulars ſurpaſſed; for it is beyond controverſy, that until her late imprudence in exciting the jealouſy, and provoking the reſentment of Great Britain, Britiſh America was nearly as populous as Ireland; her people were better fed, better cloathed, better lodged, and more happy; ſhe had more ſhipping, more trade, and more credit; and during the whole time laboured under more reſtraints from Engliſh laws than Ireland did, with a ſoil much leſs fertile, and a climate neither ſo temperate or ſalutary.

The author of the following ſheets is a native of Ireland; and, although he has been many years engaged in the public ſervice in other parts of the Britiſh dominions, he has not forgot what he owes to the country from whence he derived his birth, and where he received thoſe principles that have ſupported him at all times, and carried him through a variety of ſituations, without reproach; aud he thinks he cannot better diſcharge his duty to his parent country, and to the empire at large, than by bringing to the public ſtock of Ireland whatever knowledge the many means of information he has had, may have enabled him to acquire.

His firſt object is to endeavour to lead his countrymen to reflect upon their own condition as a people, to inveſtigate the conſtitution of their government and the nature of their connexion with England; and in doing this, he intreats them to diveſt themſelves as much as poſſible of their early prejudices; to inquire before they form their opinion, and not to take that upon truſt from others, the truth of which they ought to have examined themſelves.

What is now laid before them will, he hopes, call up their attention, and turn their thoughts into

into a right channel. He intends to wait its effects, before he proceeds to offer any propoſitions, reſpecting either the external connexions or internal polity of Ireland; but he pledges himſelf to his countrymen to bring forward, in due time, ſome of importance in each claſs.

CONSIDERATIONS.

THE end and purpoſe of all government being the advantage, ſafety, and happineſs of the community, the general diſcontent of the people is at all times an argument of a defective conſtitution, or of miſconduct in thoſe to whom the adminiſtration is committed: when the latter is the caſe, a change of miniſters will probably prove a remedy; but if the miſchief lies deeper, and has its ſource in the conſtitution itſelf, a change of miniſters will only ſerve to increaſe the public ill humour, and by exciting hopes which cannot be gratified, add the reſentment of diſappointment to the anguiſh of former grievances. It ſeems therefore highly proper to inquire into the nature of our public evils, and to trace them to their fountain, before any method of redreſſing them is propounded;

for,

for, until we have a fair view of the diſeaſe, we ſhall not be able to judge of the probable effects of the regimen that may be offered for our relief.

Without going back farther than our memory will ſerve us, we ſhall find ſuch diverſity in the characters of our ſeveral chief governors, and variety in the meaſures of their adminiſtrations, as ſtrongly to incline us to ſuppoſe that they would not *all* have failed as they did in giving content to the people, were it in the power of any chief governor to give it. We execrate the ſubtle Lord Carteret for aiming to deprive us of the advantages of biennial ſeſſions of Parliament; and we are not better pleaſed with the undeſigning Lord Townſhend, who has ſecured and improved that privilege by an octennial election; we accuſe Lord Cheſterfield of ſapping the foundation of the Iriſh intereſt in Parliament; and we cenſure Lord Harrington for putting himſelf into the hands of the Ariſtocracy, and conſenting to their violent and arbitrary attempts upon the freedom of our elections. The Duke of Dorſet is never to be forgiven for opening a new channel of circulation for the King's favours, and it ſeems to be

be the great grievance of the preſent hour,* that the hands through which they then paſſed are no longer employed in diſtributing them. The Duke of Devonſhire is blamed for effecting an union of the contending parties; and that he governed by a faction, is one of the crimes of the Duke of Bedford; and whilſt the unaccommodating pride of the latter nobleman is recollected with diſguſt, the facility and politeneſs of Lord Halifax is branded with the epithets of falſhood and inſincerity. In ſhort, ſplendour and magnificence is uſeleſs profuſion in Lord Northumberland, and an attention to domeſtic œconomy miſerable parſimony in Lord Hertford. A large redundance of public treaſure had well nigh undone the kingdom in 1753, and an increaſe of its domeſtic expences have brought it to the verge of bankruptcy in 1772. It is needleſs for me to multiply inſtances of our diſcontent, or to expoſe the contrariety of the cauſes we aſſign for them, eſpecially as it is not my purpoſe either to vindicate the characters or conduct of our Viceroys, or to revive the public clamour againſt them; all I mean to ſhew is, that the people have been uneaſy under

* This paper was written in the year 1772.

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all adminiſtrations, and that, judging of the future by the paſt, there is no likelihood of their being content with any chief Governor, until the conſtitution of Ireland receives ſome improvement. This is a point of which I wiſh my countrymen to be fully convinced; for ſo long as they entertain a hope of ſeeing an adminiſtration to their mind, they will be apt to join in the cry raiſed by the factious againſt every chief Governor, vainly flattering themſelves, by his removal, to make way for their favourite; and thus, inſtead of bending their force to remove the cauſe, they will continue to be, as they have been, the dupes of deſigning and artful leaders, exclaiming againſt its neceſſary effects, without any public principle for the baſis of their opinion, or any conſtitutional rule for the direction of their conduct. Let me then entreat my countrymen to conſider this matter with ſerious attention, and then fairly ſay what are the public acts they wiſh to ſee take effect, and what are the meaſures they wiſh to ſee purſued by a chief Governor, and I will appeal to their candour for confeſſing that neither thoſe acts nor thoſe meaſures are to be expected from any chief Governor ſo long as you conſider yourſelves, and are conſidered by Eng-

land as a ſeparate kingdom and having ſeparate intereſts; can you hope to be deemed a dependence of the Engliſh crown only for the purpoſe of being protected by the Engliſh fleets and armies, and enjoying the advantages of the treaties and alliances procured by England, and be conſidered by her as an independent people in all other reſpects? Such notions are too abſurd to be entertained by ſo ſenſible a people, and therefore I flatter myſelf you will give me your candid and ſerious attention, whilſt I endeavour to trace the cauſes of your uneaſineſs, and point out the means of their removal.

To have the clearer view of this very important ſubject, it will be neceſſary to go back to the origin of the connection between England and Ireland, and to inquire into the motives which induced it, and the principles upon which it was founded.

From the imperfect accounts we have of the ſtate of Ireland antecedent to the arrival of Henry the Second, compared with what we know to have been the ſtate of England at the ſame period, it is eaſy to prove that the introduction of the laws and cuſtoms of England into

into Ireland by that monarch was a conſiderable boon to the people of Ireland. The tenure by which the inhabitants hold their lands is in all countries a fair teſt of the freedom or deſpotiſm of the government, for where-ever the people have a right to be conſulted upon acts of ſtate, they never fail to uſe that right to ſecure to themſelves a fixed property in their lands, which, next to the liberty of their perſons, is deemed the moſt important conſideration; and indeed there is good reaſon it ſhould be ſo conſidered, for perſonal freedom in a country where there is no certain property, is no otherways beneficial than as it enables the inhabitants to remove out of it, and ſeek their fortunes under a better conſtitution of government.

Nothing could be more wretched than the ancient condition of the people of Ireland appears to have been in reſpect to property in their lands; poſſeſſion was the only rule of right among the inhabitants, and as by the cuſtom of taneſtry, the captain, or head of each ſept, was elective, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that upon the ſucceſſion of every new captain, room was to be made for the accommodation of his friends, by the removal of thoſe of his predeceſſor or oppo-

nent; and as the ſame cuſtom prevailed in the ſucceſſion of their princes or kings, the continual wars, rapines, murders, and deſolation, which we are told of, appear to be no more than the neceſſary effects of the barbariſm of the conſtitution; what a bleſſing then was the introduction of feudal tenures to this people! and therefore it is not ſurpriſing that the great men of the iſland ſo univerſally and immediately embraced the offers of Henry, and, reliniquiſhing their former titles, conſented to hold their principalities and domains of him as their feudal Lord; for by ſo doing they acquired for their children a right of inheritance, and continued their own poſſeſſions in their families; nor were their tenants leſs benefited by the change, as they were of courſe to hold their farms of their lords upon the like conditions; and of this they were made more ſecure, as well as in their perſonal eſtates and liberties, by the abolition of the Brehon law, and the introduction of the laws and cuſtoms of England in its room. Few of the laws of England, more than thoſe of Ireland, were at this time written; but as in England all criminal, and the greateſt part of civil cauſes were tried by juries of the vicinity, a perpetual memory of what was law was kept up among

among the people, and the rule which governed in a former caſe became a direction in all ſucceeding ones; and as all decrees and ſentences were recorded in the county or manor rolls, a fixed and regular ſyſtem of juriſprudence in courſe of time took effect in each county and manor; in ſome inſtances, indeed, different from that which prevailed in others, but in nothing of great importance, as the ſuperior courts which attended the king, and the itinerant judges had the controul over all the inferior courts, and we may ſuppoſe took care to eſtabliſh, as near as could be, an uniformity of proceeding among them. The Brehon law was on the contrary the moſt deſpotic and arbitrary that can be imagined; every captain or chief of a ſept appointed a brehon or judge to decide all cauſes, criminal and civil, among the people of his tribe. Cauſes between the people and the chief were ſeldom brought, or if they were, it is not difficult to gueſs in whoſe favour they were decided; but the lord was not content to benefit by the deciſions of the brehon in his own cauſes only, he was equally careful that ſome profit ſhould accrue to him out of the ſuits of his tenants. Hence all rapes, felonies, murders, and other crimes, were made commutable

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for money, and punifhed only by fines to the lord, and fome compenfation to the party injured. As the brehon held his office at the good pleafure of the captain, and as every fucceeding captain appointed his own brehon, there is no room to doubt that the intereſts of the party in poſſeſſion were leaned to by the brehon, and indeed that his deciſions were made the means of recompenſing the ſervices of the friends of the preſent chief at the expence of thoſe of his predeceſſors. Haſty and unjuſt, therefore, are the cenſures of thoſe zealous champions of what they think the privileges of Ireland, upon the want of ſenſe and ſpirit in the natives to defend their own laws and poſſeſſions, and in meanly ſubmitting both to the will of Henry, conſenting to hold their lands of the crown of England, and to be governed by the Engliſh laws; for in fact they acted in this reſpect with more wiſdom than we find any other people ever did in the like circumſtances. They changed a mode of government and laws replete with tyranny and oppreſſion, and productive of every enormity, for a conſtitution framed upon principles of equal right, and for laws which gave them ſecurity in their perſons, and property in their poſſeſſions; but this was not all, for inſtead of

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ſubmitting, as it is weakly and falſely alledged, to the condition of a people conquered by an invader, they ſtipulated for a common right with their invaders, not only to all the privileges *they* ſhould enjoy in Ireland, but to a community of rights and privileges with them in their own country England. Where, let me aſk theſe traducers of our anceſtors, ſhall we find in modern hiſtory a conquered people admitted to a community of rights and privileges with their conquerors? or, which of the many nations overcome by the Romans ſtipulated with that proud people, in the zenith of their power, for all the privileges of Roman citizens? Yet this the people of Ireland did, with that great and mighty monarch Henry the Second of England; they became incorporated with the Engliſh, and were made one people with them, by an union, the moſt entire and perfect that can be conceived. Their king was the ſame, they held their lands by the ſame tenure, their laws were not ſimilar but the ſame, their legiſlator was the ſame, their religion was the ſame; how happy would it have been for the people of both iſlands, but eſpecially for thoſe of Ireland, had this union proved as laſting as it was complete! What horrid ſcenes of wretchedneſs

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and misery would it have prevented! Rebellions, massacres, and devastations, would not have then filled every page of our shocking history, nor would the poverty of the bulk of our people have been, as it now is, our reproach among civilized nations; but on the contrary, participating with our brethren in England in every benefit of commerce, profiting by their wealth and skill in manufactures for the perfecting our own, deriving equal advantages with them from the increase of the colonies, and beneficial treaties with foreign states; peace and plenty must have taken place of poverty and desolation, and the happiness and prosperity of Ireland would have been the envy of all nations. But Providence, which frequently uses the wickedness of one man as the instrument to punish the crimes of others, by permitting that monster of bigotry and deceit, Louis the VIIth of France, to call Henry into Normandy before he had seen his new constitution take effect, left the miserable natives to suffer by their new rulers, and each other for their former enormities.

When a new mode of government and new laws were to be introduced, it was highly requisite

quiſite to appoint magiſtrates, well ſkilled in both, to adminiſter them to the people; but this Henry had not time to do, and therefore it fell of courſe to the brehons to pronounce judgement, by laws which they were wholly unacquainted with, and to eſtabliſh cuſtoms which they had never heard of. No proviſion ſeems to have been made for the taniſt, or elected ſucceſſor to the chief of each ſept, and as each captain or head was now become a baron, and his barony deſcendable to his ſon, the taniſt was barred of his ſuceſſion, and without any compenſation. It is unneceſſary to look for other ſources of miſchief; theſe two were more than ſufficient to deprive the people of Ireland of all the advantages the new conſtitution held out to them, and even to render it more odious in their eyes than their own; for as the taniſt would naturally claim the ſucceſſion by the old law, and the heir of his predeceſſor would endeavour to retain it under the ſanction of the new tenure; and Henry the lord of the fief being abſent, a civil war in every ſept was the neceſſary conſequence of the death of the Chief. The tyranny and oppreſſion of the Chief, which the people hoped to have ſeen reſtrained by the Engliſh laws, were,

on the contrary, increaſed under pretence of them; for it was eaſy for him to direct his breheon to give a colour to the moſt iniquitous deciſion, by declaring it to be according to the Engliſh laws; and it was in his own power to ſeize upon the poſſeſſions of any of his ſept under pretence of their being forfeited to him by theſe unknown laws. Indeed when John became Lord of Ireland, we find him endeavouring to remedy theſe evils by renewing the charter of Henry, and carrying over from England a number of learned judges, and appointing them to diſpenſe the Engliſh laws to the people; his own troubles, however, ſoon took off his attention to the affairs of Ireland; and it was the misfortune of this country, that thoſe to whom its government was committed, in theſe early times, inſtead of labouring to draw the band of union ſtill cloſer between England and Ireland, took every poſſible meaſure for ſeparating the native Iriſh from the Engliſh, and their deſcendants who were ſettled here. It was their villainous policy to excite quarrels among the Iriſh Chiefs, and then declarn them rebels, and to ſeize upon their countries as forfeited by their treaſon; and finding the Brehon laws more convenient to their purpoſes of

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tyranny and oppreſſion, they denied their wretched tenants the benefit of the laws of England, and forced them to reſort to their brehon. In public and notorious violation of the great charter of Henry, confirmed by John, they ſet up a pale as a boundary between the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh and Iriſh inhabitants, and confined the juriſdiction of the Engliſh laws within the limits of that pale; nay, what was ſtill more unjuſt, they denied the benefit of thoſe laws to ſuch of the deſcendants of the native Iriſh as dwelt within the pale. It is with pain I relate theſe iniquities of my countrymen; for it was *our* anceſtors who practiſed them on each other. The deſcendants of the Laceys, the Fitzgeralds, the Cavennaghs, the Courcys, and many more who may find themſelves injured by the recital of the injuſtice done to thoſe they take to have been their anceſtors, by thoſe they call Engliſh, ought to change the ſubject of their complaint, and lament that *their* anceſtors were capable of ſuch cruelty and injuſtice to *their* countrymen; neither the government or people of England were inſtrumental in this wrong, any farther than by neglecting to take proper meaſures for preventing it; and the unſettled ſtate of thoſe times,

the continual diſputes about the ſucceſſion, and the wars on account of the territories in France, furniſh excuſes for that neglect. Equally malicious and abſurd are the endeavours of thoſe who by an exaggerated account of theſe tranſactions, labour to excite in the preſent inhabitants of Ireland, reſentment and ill will againſt their fellow ſubjects in England, as if it were the anceſtors of the preſent Engliſh who inflicted theſe hardſhips upon the anceſtors of the preſent Iriſh. No, my countrymen, let us not be deceived by ſuch incendiaries; they were equally our own anceſtors who perpetrated the cruelties with thoſe who ſuffered them. Even ſuch, whoſe names denote them to be of the native ſtock which firſt peopled this iſland, ought to be cautious how they indulge their feelings againſt the cruel invaders; for their names are no ſecurity that their anceſtors were not among the oppreſſors, as it became a practice with many of the deſcendants of the Engliſh, as Spencer informs us, to change their names, or alter them to Iriſh, in order to give a better colour to their refuſing the benefits of the Engliſh laws to their tenants, and obliging them to ſubmit to thoſe called the Brehon; neither have we better grounds to look upon

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all thoſe whoſe names are not of Iriſh origin, as deſcendants of the invaders, for we find an act of the Iriſh Parliament, held at Trim by the Earl of Deſmond, in the year 1465, the 5th of Edward the IVth, requiring " every Iriſhman " that dwelt in the counties of Meath, Unil, " and Kildare, to take to him an Engliſh ſur- " name of one town, as Sutton, Cheſter, " Trim, Skryne, Cork, Kinſale; or colour, as " White, Black, Brown; or art or ſcience, as " Smith or Carpenter; or office, as Cook, " Butler."

And here it is proper I ſhould take notice, that the chief of the hardſhips inflicted on the native Iriſh, and thoſe which we are the moſt ſhocked at, were the neceſſary conſequences of the revival of the brehon law; for by that law, all crimes, as I have before obſerved, were commutable for money; and, therefore, when we find a price ſet upon the head of a native Iriſhman, and his murderer was acquitted upon the payment of that ſum, we ought not to conſider it as a ſingle act of tyranny or cruelty, but impute it to its ſource, the refuſal of the benefit of the Engliſh laws, and the revival of that of the brehon: and it is ſomewhat extraordinary, that the violent partizans of what they call the liberties of Ireland, who declaim ſo loudly upon theſe barbarous

barous doings, in the ſame breath impeach the authority of the Engliſh laws in Ireland, which alone made them criminal, and thereby render theſe very proceedings legal, if not juſtifiable. That the government in England was far from countenancing theſe proceedings of the adminiſtration in Ireland is evident, from the act or letters patent of the 17th of Edward the Firſt, dated at Nottingham, in the year 1288, two and twenty years before the date of the firſt act paſſed by an Iriſh Parliament, as printed in the collection of the Iriſh ſtatutes. The preamble to this act declares it to be, *for the amendment of the government of our realm of Ireland, and for the peace and tranquillity of our people of the ſame land*; and, indeed, the enacting clauſes very well correſpond with the intention expreſſed in the preamble, for they prohibit the juſtice and all other officers of the crown from purchaſing lands within their reſpective bailiwicks without ſpecial licence from the King. It commands that they ſhould not take victuals, or any other thing, of perſons againſt their will; that they ſhould not arreſt ſhips or goods of ſtrangers or ſubjects; but, *that trade ſhould be free and unreſtrained between England, Wales, and Ireland.* And to correct this abuſe of par-

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doning or commuting for murder, the King reſerved to himſelf the power of pardoning in all ſuch caſes, and reſtrains his juſtice or chancellor from exerciſing that prerogative in future.

I am not writing the hiſtory of Ireland, although it is highly fit it ſhould be done by ſome one ;* for there is no civilized people upon earth who know ſo little of their own hiſtory or affairs as we of Ireland do of ours ; but I conceive it to be a good ſervice to the public, to remove the prejudices which ignorance of the truth has laid us open to, and which prevail among us, even to this day, in a degree extremely injurious to the welfare of our country, and highly diſgraceful to us, as an enlightened people ; for not content with the ſingle abſurdity of ſuppoſing that no intermixture has happened among the inhabitants of ſo ſmall an iſland in ſix centuries ; a new mark of diſtinction has been borrowed from religion to ſupply that of deſcent, which might otherwiſe have been worn out in ſo many ages ; and although the reformation did not take place in England

* This was written before Dr. Leland's Hiſtory was publiſhed. I am ſorry its publication has not given me occaſion to alter what I had written.

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for 350 years after Henry's invaſion of Ireland, yet the Proteſtants of Ireland are weak enough to ſtigmatize the whole body of the Roman Catholics, as deſcendant of the ancient Iriſh, and as ſuch, are unwilling to allow them a community of rights and privileges with themſelves: but that the ancient inhabitants of this iſland were equally entitled to all the laws, rights, and privileges of Engliſhmen with the Engliſh adventurers, has been, I perſuade myſelf, ſufficiently proved; and although the charters of Henry the Second, and of his ſon John, granting thoſe laws, rights, and privileges to the people of Ireland, had not the expreſs conſent or concurrence of the Engliſh Barons or Parliament, yet I am bold to affirm, that ſuch conſent or concurrence was not neceſſary, and the Engliſh ſtatutes themſelves afford abundant proofs that the Parliament of England acquieſced in theſe acts of their kings, and conſidered the people of Ireland for 300 years afterwards as Engliſhmen, and entitled to a community with themſelves in all their laws, rights, and privileges.

It is difficult to avoid carrying with us our ideas of things as they appear at preſent, into the dif-

diſcuſſion of the practice that prevailed in ancient times; and as we now ſee Parliament the ſource of legiſlation, and veſted with high, perhaps boundleſs, juriſdiction, we are apt to conceive that ſuch has always been the caſe, in ſome degree at leaſt. Laws too are now generally made to reſtrain the people, and give power to the officers of the Crown; and Parliament, inſtead of petitioning the King for privileges, is continually authoriſing the Crown to abridge the people's liberties in ſome inſtance or other; but the truth is, the King and the Parliament have changed places in latter times, and the fundamental maxims of Government are entirely reverſed. The doctrine in former ages was, that all power was in the King; the doctrine now is, that all power is derived from the people. Every liegeman was then in the power of the Prince, and ſubject to his will, except where he could ſhew a grant or charter of the Crown in his behalf. Now the King has no power over any man unleſs there be ſome law to give it to him. Inſtead of being aſſembled to ſignify their *acceptance* of the grace of the Crown in the grant of a charter or law, Parliament now meets of right, *propounds* and enacts laws, and preſents them to the Crown for aſ-

ſent; and woe be to the adviſers of the Prince, if that advice be with-held.

The expreſſions *legiſlative juriſdiction of Parliament*, which are applicable to the preſent ſtate of things, have no meaning when applied to former times. Parliament was then nothing more than an aſſembly of ſuch of thoſe who held lands in capite of the Crown, as the King thought fit to call together by his writ, in order to *accept*, on the part of the whole people, ſuch laws or charters as the King might be pleaſed to *grant*, and in return, to ſignify the people's *conſent* to the King's levying, for his own uſe, a certain ſum of money; how then was Henry obliged to have the conſent of the Engliſh Parliament to his granting to the people of Ireland all the laws which himſelf or his predeceſſors had granted to the people of England? Neither could he be reſtrained by any law or rule then in being, from calling, by his writ, certain of his Iriſh tenants in capite to the aſſembly of his tenants, or Parliament, in England, and receiving their *acceptance* of his laws in common with his Engliſh tenants, and their *conſent* to the ſame ſubſidies alſo; but whether the King thought fit to call any of his Iriſh te-

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nants to theſe aſſemblies or not, the people of Ireland were equally entitled, with the people of England, to the benefit of the laws *accepted* by ſuch aſſemblies; or as the modern moſt improper phraſe is, were equally *bound* by them; for the King was in no caſe obliged to ſummon *all* his tenants to ſuch aſſemblies; and as the ſtates and people of Ireland had adopted the laws and government of England, they were thenceforward included in all the tranſactions of thoſe aſſemblies; for it was the law of England that thoſe aſſemblies ſhould *conſent* for the whole people, and we find the fact correſponds with this doctrine; for it appears manifeſt from the Engliſh ſtatutes (which are always the beſt and ſureſt guides to the national opinions) down to the 1ſt of Henry the Vth. the year 1413, that this iſland was deemed a part of England, and its inhabitants in all reſpects Engliſhmen.

In all the acts for regulating trade, England, Ireland, and Wales are coupled together, and the liberties and prohibitions extended to all alike. By the ſtatute of the 11th of Edward the IIId. neither man or woman in England, Ireland, or Wales, were to wear cloth, but of the manufacture of England, Ireland, or Wales,

and of ſuch parts of Scotland as were then in the King's power; no foreign cloths might be brought into any of thoſe countries; none under a certain degree might wear furs; all foreign clothworkers might come into any of thoſe lands with ſafety, and have franchiſes granted them. By the 8th of Edward the IIId. wines of Gaſcoigny imported into England, Ireland, or Wales, are directed to be gauged. All people of England, Ireland, and Wales, that are not artificers, may paſs into Gaſcoigny in virtue of the 43d of Edward the IIId. and purchaſe wines, provided they import them into England, Ireland, or Wales. The ſtaple of wool, leather, fells, and lead, by the 27th of Edward the IIId. is appointed for England at Newcaſtle and nine other towns, at Carmarthen for Wales, and at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, for Ireland; and all the wool, leather, fells, and lead to be exported out of any of thoſe countries, are directed to be firſt carried to a ſtaple town in the reſpective countries, and there ſold to foreign merchants for gold or ſilver, but not for foreign merchandiſe. Merchants of Ireland or Wales, by the 17th of Edward the IIId. are allowed to bring their merchandiſe to the ſtaples in England, and

ſell

ſell them there without paying any but the Iriſh or Welſh cuſtoms; becauſe, ſays the ſtatute, "Foreigners do not ſo generally go to purchaſe at the Iriſh and Welſh ſtaples as they "do to thoſe of England." The 34th of Edward the IIId. accords that all the merchants, as well aliens as denizens, may come into Ireland with their merchandiſes, and from thence freely to return with their merchandiſes and victuals, without fine or ranſom to be taken of them, ſaving always to the King his ancient cuſtoms and other duties. By the next chapter of the ſame act, it is enacted, "That "the people of England, as well religious as "other, which have their heritage and poſſeſ-"ſions in Ireland, may bring their corn, beaſts, "and victuals, to the ſaid land of Ireland, and "thence to re-carry their goods and merchan-"diſes into England *freely*, without *impeach-*"*ment*, *i. e.* hindrance, paying their cuſtoms and "devoirs to the King." By the 43d of the ſame Edward, the wool ſtaple at Calais is taken away, but the former acts, appointing ſtaples in England, Ireland, and Wales, are confirmed.

The act of the 9th of Richard the IId. which is the firſt eſſay of the Engliſh Parliament towards

wards a navigation act, prohibits the King's subjects from carrying forth or bringing in any merchandises, but only in ships of *the King's allegiance*. Neither Ireland or Wales are mentioned in any of the enacting clauses or chapters of the 14th of that King, but from the preamble it is evident that the regulations then made were to take place in those countries, as well as in England; the words of the preamble are, " for the relief and increase of the com-
" mon profit of the realm of England and *of*
" *the lands of Wales and Ireland*, which have
" been in divers manners greatly hindered in
" times past, our Lord the King," &c. From henceforward we find no mention of Ireland in any statute, until we come to the 8th chapter of Henry the Vth. so that from the acts I have quoted, it is most evident that during this long period of near three centuries, and in the course of many reigns, England and Ireland were deemed by the King and Parliament and people of England to be incorporated, and the inhabitants of the two islands to be one people, and equally entitled to the same immunities, and subject to the same restraints. Nor are there the smallest grounds to suppose that there was any exception of the descendants of the native

Irish

Iriſh from this community, and that only the Engliſh adventurers and their deſcendants were included in it; for, on the contrary, all the terms which might lead to ſuch ideas of diſtinction are carefully avoided, as the ſtatutes never ſpeak of *Iriſhmen*, but people of *Ireland*, which certainly includes the whole inhabitants. How wicked and ill-founded then, my countrymen, are thoſe cruel aſperſions upon the Engliſh government, which our hot-headed and ignorant zealots have thrown out, as if it was *they* who out-lawed the natives, and excluded them from the common rights of ſubjects, and even of men? And how ought we to deteſt ſuch baſe incendiaries, for endeavouring to create in us a jealouſy and animoſity againſt our Engliſh brethren, and to make the Engliſh government odious to us by ſuch notorious falſhoods and atrocious calumnies? You cannot poſſibly refuſe to give credit to the evidence I have laid before you, and if you do not, it will be equally impoſſible for you to refuſe your aſſent to this conſequence which is ſo clearly deducible from it; namely, that during the whole period I have run over, it appears to have been the uniform purpoſe of the laws and government of England to aboliſh all diſtinctions among the inhabitants

habitants of Ireland, and to conſider all as enjoying the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen. Who then, you will aſk, if not the Engliſh government, created and foſtered thoſe cruel and unjuſt diſtinctions between one part of the inhabitants and the other? I anſwer freely, Iriſhmen; perhaps the deſcendants of Engliſhmen, Welſhmen, Scotchmen, or Danes, but more eſpecially our Iriſh rulers. Upon thoſe, and upon thoſe only, is to be charged all the miſery, wretchedneſs, and deſtructions that have befallen us. Before we had a Parliament, we ſee by the act of the 17th of Edward the Iſt. that the conduct of our great men in power did not eſcape the notice of the Engliſh government, and that a wiſe and effectual meaſure was taken to put a ſtop to their oppreſſions upon our trade and exactions of office, as well as to deprive them of the power of making diſtinctions in caſes of murder and felonies between one part of the people and the other, and pardoning or puniſhing according to that wicked rule they had made of allowing the Engliſh laws to the deſcendants of Engliſh only, and allowing the deſcendants of the native Iriſh no other than the brehon law. But when a Parliament was once held in Ireland, the Engliſh government com-

committed the care of the inhabitants to it, and from thenceforth the Engliſh Parliament did not once interfere with its domeſtic government or intermeddle in its affairs. How well the Iriſh Parliament and thoſe in power here purſued the beneficent and wiſe purpoſes of the Engliſh government, may eaſily be collected from the terms they made uſe of to diſtinguiſh the deſcendants of the native Iriſh from thoſe they ſuppoſed to be deſcendants of the Engliſh adventurers, 170 years after the incorporation of the two nations by Henry the Second, denominating the one *Iriſh enemies*, and the others *Engliſhmen*. Of this, and of the cruel, violent, and illegal methods of proceeding with thoſe unhappy men, whom they were pleaſed to confound under the general name of *Iriſh enemies*, the acts of the Iriſh Parliament in the 25th of Henry the VIth. chapter the 2d and 3d, which I have copied in the margin * are ſhocking proofs.

There

* The 25th Henry the VIth. chap. 4th. enacts " that he that will be taken for an Engliſhman ſhall not uſe a beard upon his upper lip alone. The offender ſhall be taken as an Iriſh *enemy*.

" For that now there is no diverſity in any betwixt the Engliſh marchours and the Iriſh enemies, and ſo by

There is good ground to believe, from the ſtyle and tenor of the Iriſh acts of theſe times, that

colour of the Engliſh marchours the Iriſh enemies do come from day to day to other into the Engliſh counties as Engliſh marchours, and do rob and kill by the highways, and deſtroy the common people by lodging upon them in the nights, and alſo do kill the huſbands in the nights, and do take their goods to the Iriſhmen; wherefore it is ordained and agreed, that no manner of man that will be taken for an Engliſhman, ſhall have no beard above his mouth; that is to ſay, that he have no hairs upon his upper lip, ſo that the ſaid lip be once at leaſt ſhaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the nether lip. And if any man be found amongſt the Engliſh contrary hereunto, that then it ſhall be lawful to every man to take them and their goods as Iriſh enemies, and to ranſom them as Iriſh enemies."

CHAP. V.

" Alſo for that divers Iriſh enemies be many times received by lieutenants and juſtices of this land to become liege men, and thereto are ſworn to be loyal lieges during their lives; and after many times they do not perimpliſh the ſame, but do rob, burn, and deſtroy the king's liege people; and the ſame liege people, for fear to be impeached, dare not kill nor impriſon the ſaid enemies, nor take their goods nor chattels, whereby the ſaid liege people do take great hurt and hindrance. It is ordained and eſtabliſhed, that if any ſuch Iriſh enemies, ſo received to the legiance of our ſovereign lord, be found with any ſuch offence aforeſaid, that it ſhall be lawful to every liege man that may meet with them to do with the ſaid Iriſhmen, ſo received to the legiance afore-

that they were paſſed by the deputy or lieutenant, without having been tranſmitted to England, or approved by the King; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that the Engliſh government would have conſented to acts ſo directly contrary to the laws of England, or have ſuffered it to be declared by ſtatute, as is done in that of 35th of Henry the VIth. chapter 3d. *that there were ſundry perſons in Ireland who were not amenable to the common law*; and indeed we find it is expreſſly declared in the preamble of the 11th of Elizabeth for confirming Poyning's act, that when liberty was given to the governors under her Majeſty's progenitors to call Parliaments at their pleaſure, acts paſſed as well to *the diſhonour of the prince as the hindrance of their ſubjects.* It was the *abuſe* then of this liberty of making laws by the Iriſh Parliament and chief governors that called for that now obnoxious and be-

aforeſaid, and to their goods and chattels, as to a man that never was become liege, without any impeachment of the law, notwithſtanding any ſtatute."

The 5th of Edward the IVth. chap. 2d. "An act that it ſhall be lawful to kill any that is found robbing by day or night, or going or coming to rob or ſteal, having no faithful man of good name or fame in their company in Engliſh apparel."

wailed act of the 10th of Henry the 7th, commonly called Poyning's act, which obliges the lieutenant, or deputy, and privy council of Ireland, to repreſent to the King the neceſſity or expediency of holding a ſeſſion of Parliament; and if we diſpaſſionately examine the ſeveral acts which I have quoted as paſſed by Iriſh Parliaments, antecedent to this king's reign, and compare them with thoſe which followed this reſtriction, I am confident it will appear that this *reſtraint was neceſſary for the common good of the people of Ireland, and that it has been productive of beneficial conſequences to them.* Indeed the ſeveral laws enacted in this reign ſhew an attention to the quiet and good government of Ireland, which is not diſcoverable in the Iriſh ſtatutes of any preceding reign. The act *that no citizen receive livery or wages of any lord or gentleman*, was certainly highly neceſſary for the peace and proſperity of the city of Dublin, and the other cities and towns, if what we are told in the preamble be true, "that it was uſual for the "citizens to be retained by certain lords and "gentlemen, contrary to their own laws and "cuſtoms; whereas they ſhould take part with "no man but only the part of their ſovereign "lord,

" lord, and his lieutenant for the time being,
" and to see their said cities and towns surely
" kept under due order and obeyance, the
" which retainders, partaking, and division
" have been a great cause of all the trouble
" within the said land."

The acts " *that no person take any money or*
" *amends for the death or murder of his friend or*
" *kinsman, other than the king's laws will*; that
" *no person stir any Irishry to make war*; that
" *no peace* in *war be made with any man with-*
" *out licence of the governor*; that *for extirpa-*
" *tion of a new manner of coin and livery*; *for*
" *abolishing the words Cramabo and Butterabo,*
" and *that whereby murder of malice prepense*
" *is made treason*;" all speak sufficiently for
themselves; but there is something so expres-
sive of the desire of government to restrain the
violences of the great men, to protect the lower
class, and do equal justice to all in the last
mentioned act, that I cannot help reciting it.
" Forasmuch as there hath been *universal mur-*
" *der* by malice prepense, used and had in this
" land by divers persons contrary to the laws of
" Almighty God and the King, *without any*
" *fear or due punishment had in that behalf*, be it
" enacted,

" enacted, &c. That if any perſon or perſons
" *of whatſoever eſtate, degree, or condition, he*
" *or they be of*, of malice propenſe do flee or
" murder, or of the ſaid malice provoke, ſtir,
" or procure any other perſon or perſons to flee
" or murder *any of the King's ſubjects* within
" this land of Ireland, be deemed traitor at-
" tainted of haute treaſon, *likewiſe as it ſhould*
" *extend to our ſaid ſovereign lord*'s perſon, or to
" his royal majeſty."

The Engliſh act of the firſt of Henry Vth. by which I limited my aſſertion that the iſland and people of Ireland were, by the King and Parliament of England, deemed incorporated with England, marks no line of partition between the two iſlands, neither does it make any diſcrimination of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, but inaſmuch as it fixes an opprobrious ſtigma upon the natives of Ireland, and reſtrains them of that free intercourſe with England which the incorporation of the two iſlands entitled them to; it muſt be allowed to indicate in the Parliament of England an idea of diſtinction between the natives of Ireland and the natives of England: the like obſervation may be made upon the firſt of Henry VIth.

chap.

chap. 3d, and the ſecond Henry VIth. chap. 8th, which are properly amendments of the former act of Henry Vth. But although theſe acts unqueſtionably ſet up a diſtinction between the natives of the two iſlands, yet they do not appear to have been followed by any others of a ſimilar nature; nor indeed is there to be found upon the ſtatute roll down to the 15th of Charles the IId. a ſingle act for laying any partial reſtraint upon the trade or manufactures of Ireland, or impoſing any duty upon the manufactures, products, or merchandiſe of Ireland, when imported into England. On the contrary, all the laws reſpecting trade paſſed in the ſeveral reigns antecedent to the reſtoration, convey to the people of Ireland the ſame advantages which they confer on the people of England. Third of Edward the IVth. which declares certain "Merchandiſes not lawful to be brought "ready wrought into England, has this pro- "viſo, that all wares and chaffres made and "wrought in the land of Ireland or Wales, "may be brought and ſold in this realm of "England, *as they were wont*, before the mak- "ing of this ſtatute, this act or ſtatute notwith- "ſtanding." The firſt of Henry VIIth. enacts, That no Gaſcoign or Guien wines be brought

in

in but by Engliſh, *Iriſh*, and Welſhmen, and by their ſhips.

The 4th of that king enacts, " that no perſon, " of whatſoever degree, convey or bring into " this realm, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Ber- " wick, any manner of wines or Tholouſe " wood, but in ſhips owned by the king, or " ſome of his ſubjects of his realm of England, " *Ireland*, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, and " the maſter and mariners being Engliſhmen, " *Iriſhmen*, or Welſhmen, or of Berwick, or " Calais."

The firſt of Henry the VIIIth. chap. 5th, declares that " every Engliſhman, *and all other the King*'s ſubjects, may enter the goods of another Engliſhman, or the king's ſubjects, in any port in England, Ireland, &c."

The 23d of this king confirms the before-mentioned ſtatute of Henry the VIIth. reſpecting wines and wood, and in the 5th and 6th of Edward the VIth. it is repealed.

The 8th of Elizabeth, chap. 3d. inflicts a penalty upon carrying out of England, Wales,

or

or *Ireland*, over ſea, any rams, lambs, or ſheep alive. The 43d of this reign prohibits the ſtretching woollen cloths within her Majeſty's realm of England, or the dominions of the ſame.

The 2d of James the Iſt. forbids to employ in hat-making any perſon born out of his Majeſty's realms and dominions of England, Scotland, and *Ireland*.

Another act of the ſame year permits, under certain reſtrictions, any perſons, *being ſubjects of the King's Majeſty*, to tranſport corn in any ſhip whereof any Engliſh-born *ſubject* ſhall be the owner. The act of the 3d of this King, chap. 6th, for enabling all his Majeſty's loving ſubjects of England and Wales to trade freely into the dominions of Spain, Portugal, and France, has a preamble ſo expreſſive of the ſenſe Parliament had of the common right of the King's ſubjects to a free trade, and abhorrence of a monopoly, that I ſhall recite it at full length, "Whereas divers merchants have of "late obtained from the King, under the great "ſeal of England, a large charter of incorpo-"ration for them and their company to trade

" into the dominions of Spain and Portugal,
" and are moſt earneſt ſuitors to obtain the like
" for France, whereby none but themſelves,
" and ſuch as they ſhall think fit, ſhall take
" benefit of the ſaid charter, diſabling thereby
" all others his Majeſty's loving ſubjects *of this*
" *realm of England and Wales*, who ought *in-*
" *differently* to enjoy all the benefits of this
" moſt happy peace, *and alſo debarring them*
" *from that free enlargement of common traffic*
" *into thoſe dominions which others his Majeſty's*
" *ſubjects of this realm of Scotland and Ireland*
" *do enjoy.*"

Theſe, together with thoſe which I before-mentioned, are the only laws reſpecting trade that I find to have been made in England before the Reſtoration, and it is moſt evident from the extracts which I have given, that the legiſlatures which enacted them, clearly held the inhabitants of Ireland to be entitled to all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the inhabitants of England; but as commerce now became a principal object of the attention of the Engliſh Parliament, a ſpirit of monopoly and excluſion of others, which a love of trade never fails to generate, diſcovers itſelf in all their fu-

ture measures, and Ireland is no longer considered as a part of England, and incorporated with it, but it is henceforth regarded as the competitor instead of the sister of England, and all its commercial advantages viewed with partial and jealous eyes. Other causes, besides the selfish nature of trade, were not wanting to create a breach in the union of the two islands; the vanity of Henry the VIIIth. in taking the title of King of Ireland, and by consequence erecting the island into a kingdom, had no small share in the mischief; for this fatal name of kingdom, whenever it was sounded in the ears of a native of England, could not but excite in him ideas of a distinct state or dominion, having interests and views peculiar to itself, separate from, and incompatible with the views and interests of England. The repugnance which the Roman Catholics of Ireland had always shewn since the Reformation to the English government, and their then late horrid massacre of those they deemed the descendants of Englishmen, must also have greatly served to strengthen this jealousy in the people of England, and the number of settlers which had flowed into Ulster from Scotland, whose principles Charles and his loyal Parliament equally

diſliked, was no ſmall inducement for them to countenance by law the popular prejudices.

What happened to Wales in the reign of Henry IVth. gives weight to theſe ſuggeſtions; for the people of that principality having ſupported Earl Mortimer's title, Henry and his party in revenge procured ſeveral acts of Parliament to be paſſed, by which Wales and its inhabitants were ſeparated and cut off from England and the rights of Engliſhmen; nor was that country re-united to England, and its inhabitants reſtored to their privileges, until the reign of Henry the VIIIth. The caſe of Scotland in later times affords another proof of the miſchievous effects of prejudice and jealouſy; for immediately after the reſtoration of Charles, that free trade and communication with England and its dominions, which had been allowed to Scotland from the acceſſion of James, was abridged, and Scotland and Scottiſhmen laid under the ſame diſabilities in reſpect to trade as foreigners. It was however the happineſs of Wales to have no diſtinct government of its own, to continue the jealouſy of England by its ridiculous attempts at independency; and Scotland, by relinquiſhing her ſeparate legiſlature,

and

and abſorbing it in that of England, by that one act, the wiſeſt ſhe ever did, removed for ever all the bars and obſtructions to her intercourſe and commerce with England and its dominions, and became entitled to all the benefits, rights, and immunities, that the power, wealth, and wiſdom of England had for many ages been acquiring.

Should my countrymen refuſe to profit of theſe examples, from an unwillingneſs to abſorb their local legiſlature in that by which the whole empire is governed, ſtill there are other means they may employ to recover their former ſituation.

No. VII.

Extract of a Letter from Sir LUCIUS O' BRIEN *to* W. K. Eſq. *dated Dromeland, 5th Auguſt,* 1777.

MY dear friend, for ſuch I muſt ever eſteem the man who demonſtrates his ſtrenuous attachment to the intereſts of Ireland, independent of thoſe inſtances of perſonal civility

which

which I daily receive from you, will you now allow me to make a requeſt to you? It is for *your general opinion on what ought to be ſolicited, and what may be obtained for Ireland on your ſide the water, and what you would recommend us to do here.* I know you have turned your thoughts often to theſe points, and the ſolicitude with which I wiſh for information from you, will prove how high a value I put upon it.

No. VIII.

Copy of a Letter from W. K. *Eſq. to Sir* LUCIUS O'BRIEN.

Whitehall, 23 July, 1777.

Dear Sir,

THE time for the meeting of your Parliament being fixed, I agree entirely with you, that ſuch meaſures as may be proper to propoſe ſhould now be taken into conſideration, and put into form, ready to be laid before them when they meet. *In my private opinion there will be no great difficulty in carrying the points*

you

you mention, and ſeveral others, if they are not properly ſolicited here. The alteration in the fiſhery bill is certainly proper, and the clauſe you refer to ſhould have been worded differently, for I believe it was only meant to exclude Americans and foreigners from covering their property under our people's names, and receiving the advantage of the bounty; the clauſe ſhould therefore be amended, by ſaying, "belong to ſome of his Majeſty's ſubjects, "residing in ſome part of his Majeſty's domi- "nions in Europe." I am not willing to allow you to employ foreign built ſhips; the trade of ſhip building is of itſelf of more value than any other, and no country is better ſituated for carrying it on than Ireland. To encourage it, therefore, you ſhould give local bounties in addition to what is given for the fiſhery; but were you allowed to purchaſe foreign built ſhips your own building trade would not thrive. The direct importation of ſugar, and other Weſt-India products, as well as Rum, is, I think, a conſiderable object to you, and a very trivial one to Great Britain; but there is a ſtrong prejudice among the trading people here againſt it. You can remove that by obtaining an account of the loſs of ſhips, detention in port, expence

thereby

thereby incurred for any given number of years, and ſtate againſt it the advantage to England by commiſſion, and landing in the Britiſh ports, and the balance of loſs to Ireland, beyond the gain to the Engliſh merchants will appear ſo great and ſtriking, that no reaſonable man will venture to make a ſtir againſt you; and if you propoſe increaſing your duty upon all ſugars imported *directly* from the Weſt-Indies, without adding any thing to thoſe brought from England, you muſt ſilence all cavil, and gain the ſupport of Adminiſtration. Can you tell me if Mr. Heron means to come over before the meeting of Parliament? If he does not, I will write to him *upon what I think may be obtained*; but if he comes here I can talk to him more fully. I wiſh he came, for perſonal ſolicitation does much more with great men than applications at a diſtance.

I ſend you the *return* of the board of trade upon the African buſineſs, but I muſt apprize you that it relates but to one part of the coaſt and trade. Another part is free from the Company's juriſdiction, and indeed has no ſettlements of ours upon it though we trade there,

I mean

I mean Angola, and another is managed by the Crown Senegambia.

You will obſerve what advantage the New Englanders made by the ſale of *their* rum, or molaſſes ſpirits. Why could not Ireland ſupply the place of it by their malt ſpirits? I have time to ſay no more, but that

I am, with great regard, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. IX.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

SIR Lucius O'Brian ſometime ſince did me the honour of communicating a letter he had received from you, in which you are ſo obliging as to mention, that if I did not go to England before the meeting of Parliament, you would write to me upon ſuch points as you thought Ireland might obtain, for which I ſhould have immediately troubled you with my acknowledgements, but was in hopes of being able to ſubmit ſome things upon the ſubject to

your conſideration, which, however, I am not yet fully prepared with, I have therefore only to ſay, that my Lord Lieutenant would moſt readily concur in any meaſure for the benefit of Ireland, which might be found practicable, and will be much obliged by any aſſiſtance you can give him towards it.

I took an opportunity, immediately after receiving your letter, of mentioning theſe views to the Speaker, who ſhewed me a letter he had received from England upon the ſubject. He is diſpoſed to be active in all things which may be for the benefit of this country, but ſeemed to think great caution neceſſary, and that, unleſs the opportunities were very favourable, it were better to wait till circumſtances brought forward the meaſures Ireland wiſhed, than to attempt the forcing them, it being clear that every unſucceſsful attempt will throw the object to a greater diſtance. I mention this merely to apologize for my ſeeming tardineſs, and leſt you ſhould be diſcouraged by it from expecting my aſſiſtance in any meaſures your experience and knowledge of this country may ſuggeſt to you for the benefit of it, in which you always find

find the ſupport of my Lord Lieutenant, and the beſt endeavours of,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
Sept. 27, 1777. R. HERON.

[Sir R. H. came to England ſoon after this letter was written, when I ſuggeſted to him the application the Lord Lieutenant and Council ſhould make to Lord North. I afterwards wrote to him No. 10. which produced his No. 11.]

No. X.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, Feb. 9, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE been in conſtant expectation of hearing a demand had been made by my Lord Lieutenant, of a grant to Ireland in the terms we had ſettled, but I am told nothing of the kind has yet come. Lord George Germain ex-

preſſed to me this day his wiſh that it was come, and when I tell you that it is not intended the Parliament ſhould ſit after Eaſter, you will concur with his Lordſhip and myſelf in opinion, that no time ſhould be loſt if you intend to make the propoſition this ſeſſion. I conceive the matter is highly beneficial for Ireland, and advantageous for the empire, and therefore I propoſed it, and wiſh it ſucceſs; I have no private motives for propoſing that, or any other matter, unleſs it be the deſire of perfecting a buſineſs which I firſt gave the hint of, and transferring to Lord Buckingham's adminiſtration a ſhare of a very creditable meaſure of Lord Harcourt's.

I am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XI.

Dear Sir,

MY Lord Lieutenant has by this mail wrote to Lord North a diſpatch upon the ſubjects you recommended, of which I have the honour to incloſe you a copy. This would have been done ſooner, but

upon

upon ſuch occaſions it is neceſſary to conſult many gentlemen here who would otherwiſe think themſelves neglected, and that is not to be done without delay. You will ſee his expreſs letter refers to another Britiſh act paſſed *ſince that referred to in your inſtructions upon this ſubject*; and Sir Lucius O'Brian being doubtful whether this country might not be entitled to carry into the ports of Africa the articles allowed by the 5th and 6th ſections of the 15th of his preſent Majeſty from Ireland to Newfoundland, and perhaps others as conſequential to the right of fiſhing given to Ireland, the allegation that the ſhips which had them on board would be liable to ſeizure is left out, yet he wiſhes to have the clauſe inſerted. *You formerly gave Sir Lucius O'Brian expectations of greater advantages as he eſteemed them, but I conclude the occaſion does not offer. My Lord Lieutenant is exceedingly obliged by the aſſiſtance you have given him in this buſineſs, and hopes you will be ſo kind as to have an eye to the progreſs of it.*

The extreme hurry I am in during the ſitting of Parliament affords little opportunity of conſidering meaſures at large for the benefit of this country; in a few months I ſhall hope for ſuffi-

ſufficient leiſure; and having now been ſome time in the country ſo as to ſee its views, that leiſure might be uſefully employed, *if you would give me the benefit of your advice*, I could have points well conſidered, and the buſineſs properly prepared againſt the next ſeſſion of your Parliament, for it is in vain, during the ſitting of Parliament, to attempt any thing which requires conſideration.

My Lord Lieutenant will by to-morrow's mail tranſmit to Lord North an addreſs of the Truſtees of the Linen Board, upon points which ſeem very important ones, and may, perhaps, not be obtained at this time, notwithſtanding the claim Ireland has from Great Britain to every indulgence towards the linen manufactures of it.

I have the honour to be,
Dear Sir,
With great reſpect,
Your moſt faithful
humble ſervant,
R. HERON.

Dublin Caſtle,
20th Feb. 1788.

To the Right Hon. Lord NORTH.

[*Incloſed in No.* 11.]

Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 1778.

My Lord,

BY the 3d ſection of the Britiſh act of Parliament of the 15th of his preſent Majeſty, chap. 31, intitled, "An act for the encouragement of the fiſheries carried on from Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh dominions in Europe, and for ſecuring the return of the fiſhermen, ſailors, and others employed in the ſaid fiſheries, to the ports thereof at the end of the fiſhing ſeaſon," ſuch veſſels employed in carrying on the whale fiſhery on the coaſts of Newfoundland and the ſeas adjacent, as ſhall appear to be Britiſh built, and owned by his Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Ireland, and which ſhall be fitted and cleared out from ſome port in Ireland, are equally intitled to, and put upon the ſame footing with reſpect to the bounties allowed by that act, with ſuch veſſels as ſhall be fitted out from Great Britain, Guernſey, Jerſey, and the Iſle of Man, for carrying on thoſe fiſheries. And by the 21ſt ſection of the ſame act, the like bounties which are granted by the Britiſh

act,

act of the 11th of his preſent Majeſty, intitled, "An act for the better ſupport and eſtabliſh-"ment of the Greenland and whale fiſhery," to ſhips fitted out from Great Britain, or any of his Majeſty's dominions in America, for thoſe fiſheries, are granted for ſhips fitted out for that purpoſe from the kingdom of Ireland, every ſhip or veſſel being Britiſh built, and owned by his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland.

The Parliament of this kingdom, in their addreſſes to his Majeſty in October 1775, teſtified their ſenſe of the advantages which muſt ariſe to the navigation and trade of Ireland by this act, which extends the great benefits of Britiſh fiſheries to Ireland, and which has been the ſource of induſtry and wealth to other nations; but I am ſorry to acquaint your Lordſhip, that according to repreſentations which have been made to me from perſons of knowledge and authority reſiding here, the benefits held out by the former part of the act to this kingdom, are in a great meaſure defeated, by a proviſo in the 30th ſection thereof, by which it is enacted, "That no bounty ſhall be allowed or paid for "any ſhip or veſſel ſo employed, either by "virtue of this or any former act of Parlia-

"ment,

" ment, unleſs the whole and entire property " of ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall belong to ſome of " his Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in that part " of his Majeſty's dominions from whence ſuch " ſhip or veſſel ſhall be reſpectively fitted and " cleared out." And which reſtraining proviſo is repeated in an act of the 16th of his preſent Majeſty, chapter 47, intitled, " An act " for the further encouragement of the Whale " fiſhery carried on from Great Britain and " Ireland, and the Britiſh dominions in Europe, " and for regulating the fees to be taken by the " officers of the cuſtoms in the iſland of New- " foundland." For the gentlemen of this country alledge, that almoſt the whole of the Iriſh trade being carried on with Britiſh money, and and in Britiſh ſhips, the only means by which Ireland could have ſhared in theſe bounties muſt have been by being concerned in joint adventures with the people of Great Britain. The ſhips muſt be Britiſh, and the owners advance part of the money for defraying the expence of fitting out; but by theſe proviſoes there can be no coparceny between the ſubjects of the two kingdoms, at leaſt no bounty can be claimed by either in ſuch circumſtances, nor can the inhabitants of Guernſey, Jerſey, or the Iſle of Man,

be joined in partnerſhip with natives of Great Britain, or with any other than the inhabitants of their reſpective iſland.

It is very probable that this proviſo was inſerted to prevent the rebellious colonies in America from having ſhares in theſe bounties, and if that was the intention, it is apprehended this object might be obtained, ſo as to exclude the American colonies *only*, by making it run thus, viz.

" That no bounty ſhall be allowed or paid for
" any ſhip or veſſel ſo employed by virtue of
" either of the ſaid acts, or by any former act
" of Parliament, unleſs the whole or entire pro-
" perty of ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall belong to
" ſome of his Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Great
" Britain, Ireland, Guernſey, Jerſey, or the Iſle
" of Man."

I have alſo been requeſted to lay before your Lordſhip another matter, which it is alledged would be of very great advantage to the trade of this kingdom if approved of by your Lordſhip as conſiſtent with the trade and welfare of England, and might be inſerted in the act for making the amendment above propoſed, which is this: the Houſe of Commons of this kingdom,

dom, in the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt Parliament, voted reſolutions for paſſing an act for the extenſion of the whale fiſhery of Ireland to any of the ſeas to the ſouthward of the limits of thoſe ſeas in which the whale fiſhery is encouraged, by an act paſſed in Great Britain in the 11th year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, intitled "An act for the better ſupport and eſtabliſhment of the Greenland and whale fiſheries, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1776, to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1779;" and I underſtand it is propoſed to bring in heads of a bill this ſeſſion, to paſs here into a law for that purpoſe, and for granting a bounty of forty ſhillings per ton to the maſters or owners of ſuch Britiſh or Iriſh ſhips as ſhall be fitted out from any port in this kingdom, and proceed upon ſuch whale fiſheries, on their landing in this kingdom all ſuch whale fins, oil, or blubber of whales, ſeal oil, ſeal ſkins, or other produce of ſeals, or other fiſh or creature, as ſhall be caught by the crews of ſuch ſhips in ſuch ſeas: but as the ſhips to be employed upon this fiſhery muſt have occaſion to go into the ports of Africa, it is ſubmitted whether a clauſe allowing the exportation from Ireland to the coaſt of Africa of any proviſions, and alſo of any hooks, lines, netting, or other tools

or implements neceſſary for and uſed in the fiſhery by the crews of the ſhips or veſſels carrying on the ſame, and the craft belonging to and employed by ſuch ſhips or veſſels in the ſaid fiſhery, being the ſame articles as are allowed to be exported from Ireland to Newfoundland, by the 5th and 6th ſections of the before-mentioned act of the 15th of his preſent Majeſty, might not be very proper to be inſerted? And in order to obviate all doubts whether Iriſh ſhips, or ſhips owned or employed by his Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Ireland, are to be conſidered as Britiſh, I would farther ſubmit to your Lordſhip, whether it might not be declared in the ſame act, that all ſuch ſhips are to be entitled to the ſame privileges with ſhips belonging to his Majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain, as if the ſame were Britiſh built.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

No. XII.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 2d March, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I WAS very glad to find by your obliging favour of the 20th of laſt month, that my Lord Lieutenant had made application to Lord North on the points we had talked of; and from what I have ſeen of his Lordſhip's diſpoſition ſince the diſpatch was received, I think we ſhall ſucceed: he is, however, ſo much engaged in Parliament with conciliatory bills, and out of Parliament with his loan, that it is impoſſible he can at this moment attend to any thing elſe. I have had the linen board papers before me, and prepared a caſe which is printing in order to be delivered by the agent to the perſons intereſted in the ſucceſs of the application he is directed to make, as individuals. I do not expect much from their ſupport; they are ſo much afraid of being thought attached to Ireland, that they are mighty cautious of interfering in any matter that has the appearance of being beneficial to her, although it is at the

ſame

ſame time advantageous to the whole empire, I, who have no property but in America, muſt be allowed to act diſintereſtedly, when I preſs meaſures of utility to either Great Britain or Ireland, or both; but duty makes me take a part that even intereſt will not excite my countrymen to undertake, and I readily engage in the ſolicitation, with only the hopes of ſucceſs in proſpect for my reward. The African buſineſs, which was agitated laſt year in Parliament, lies dormant this ſeſſion, there will, therefore, be no opportunity of moving the propoſition *I made to Sir Lucius O'Brian, upon that ſubject*; but if you obtain what you have aſked, a good progreſs will be made towards obtaining a more liberal ſhare of the African trade, and if the exportation of cheques and printed, &c. linens, to the colonies in Africa and America, be alſo granted, as prayed for, Ireland will find more benefit from thoſe indulgencies than is imagined; the fiſhing ſhips may then take with them all ſorts of linens, &c.

The proſpect of raiſing companies is laid aſide for the preſent, but I do not imagine, we are ſo ſanguine in our expectations of peace

with

with the Colonies, that we mean to relax in our preparations for another campaign. I beg you will do me the honour to preſent my reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and believe me,

Dear Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XIII.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, March 14, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE conſideration of the whole ſyſtem of our commerce, you will ſee by the act for appointing commiſſioners to treat with the Colonies, muſt ſoon be taken up. I always imagined this would be the caſe, and I apprized the Speaker of it when I had the pleaſure of ſeeing him here in the ſummer of 1776. I then ſuggeſted to him how neceſſary it would be for the leading men in Ireland to conſider what indulgencies it would be proper to apply for, and in what inſtances they would wiſh to be included

cluded in any compact that might be made with America. I am afraid the Speaker is too much of an Iriſhman to have taken his meaſures ſo long before hand, as now to be in readineſs to bring forth the propoſitions for this purpoſe, but I am ſure he will do me the juſtice to acknowledge I gave him the notice.

In the inſtructions our commiſſioners are to have, ſomething ought to be ſaid reſpecting the trade between Ireland and the Colonies, but if nothing is already prepared you will not be in time, for every thing is preſſed forwards as much as poſſible to get thoſe gentlemen out. *I have not, nor ſhall not neglect you,* but I want ſupport from your ſide; I think the moſt immediate and powerful application from you, would be a letter from my Lord Lieutenant, ſtating it as the expectation of all the King's ſervants and ſupporters of his Majeſty's meaſures in Parliament, that whatever privileges or advantages in trade ſhall be granted to the Colonies, the ſame will be extended to Ireland, and that the Colonies will in no reſpect be put upon a better footing than Ireland. I ſhall write to you again on the ſubject of your applications

already

already made, at preſent I have only time to add my reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and aſſurances that

I am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XIV.

(Private.)

Dear Sir,

IN conſequence of your letter to me of the 14th *my Lord Lieutenant wrote laſt night to Lord North, a diſpatch, of which I ſhall incloſe you a copy.* This would have gone two days ſooner, but as I was preparing it, his Excellency received a notification of the treaty of friendſhip and alliance between France and America. The Speaker is of opinion Ireland cannot be eſſentially benefitted by any thing ſhort of a free commerce, which he affirms would produce in this country, diſpoſitions to make the moſt ample returns. How wiſe ſoever this bold meaſure might be, there are, I fear, many prejudices, in both countries, to be got over before

it could be effected. Ireland will, I believe, upon the preſent occaſion, give every proof of a good diſpoſition to Great Britain. *My Lord Lieutenant eſteems himſelf much obliged by your attention to us, and hopes you will give your beſt aſſiſtance in forwarding any propoſition which may be thought for the benefit of Ireland. If I can, in a poſt or two, inform you of any particulars which might be wiſhed beyond what have been already propoſed, I will not fail to communicate them to you.*

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged,

And moſt humble ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
March 21, 1778. R. HERON.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency the LORD LIEUTENANT *to the Right Honourable* LORD NORTH, *incloſed in* No. 9, *written in conſequence of my* No. 10.

Dublin Caſtle, 20th March, 1778.

(Copy.)

My Lord,

IN conſequence of the very kind diſpoſitions expreſſed by both Houſes of Parliament in Great Britain

Britain towards this kingdom at this critical juncture, which have been received here with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and gratitude, I have been preſſed by many of his Majeſty's principal ſervants, and other gentlemen who have uniformly and ſteadily ſupported his Majeſty's meaſures in this Parliament, to lay before your Lordſhip their humble hopes, that the preſent ſituation of affairs may afford an opportunity of improving thoſe favourable diſpoſitions into ſome real benefits for this country.

As they apprehend that the act lately paſſed in Great Britain for appointing commiſſioners to treat with the Colonies, and the preſent ſtate of the Britiſh empire, muſt ſoon bring on the conſideration of the whole ſyſtem of the Britiſh commerce, they have thought it incumbent upon them to repreſent it to me as their true ſentiments concurring with thoſe of the public, that this would be a proper time for me to ſolicit your Lordſhip's favour, and to ſubmit to you their earneſt requeſt that whatever privileges or advantages in trade ſhall be granted to the Colonies, if the conciliatory plan ſhall take effect, may be extended to Ireland, and that the

Colonies may not in any reſpect be put upon a better footing than Ireland.

In different converſations which have paſſed between me and ſome of the ableſt men here concerning the trade of this kingdom, I have been thoroughly convinced, that an enlargement of it in many inſtances is become abſolutely neceſſary for its ſupport, as well to enable it to anſwer the many drains to which it is annually ſubject, particularly to Great Britain, as to make proviſion for the expences of his Majeſty's government, which of late years have in every branch been increaſed to a conſiderable amount. And I am perſuaded, that the wealth and advantages proceeding from ſuch enlargement of their trade, would not only redound to the benefit of Great Britain, but that in return, his Majeſty may expect the utmoſt efforts of his ſubjects in this kingdom in ſupport of his government, and for the general ſervice of the Britiſh empire; I have therefore made no difficulty in complying with their requeſt, that I would repreſent this ſtate as the general ſenſe of the country to your Lordſhip, in order, that when any ſyſtem of commerce ſhall be agitated, ſuch ſteps may be taken with reſpect to the

trade

trade of Ireland, as ſhall appear to be moſt for the benefit of the two kingdoms.

I cannot entertain a doubt of your Lordſhip's readineſs to promote ſuch a ſolid advantage to this country, and in juſtice to it I muſt declare, that the ſteadineſs of all perſons of any rank to co-operate in every meaſure which can at this criſis conduce to the maintenance of the dignity of Great Britain, and their zeal and attachment to his Majeſty and his government, very fully entitle them to all the aſſiſtance which can be given them by his Majeſty's Miniſters, and to every mark of favour that can be granted them by the Britiſh Parliament. Your Lordſhip will therefore permit me to recommend this meaſure in the ſtrongeſt manner to your ſupport.

I have the honour to be,

With the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

No. XV.

No. XV.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 28th March, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE extraordinary occupation which you will eaſily ſuppoſe the late proceedings of the Court of France muſt have given me, will prepare you to excuſe my delay in the performance of my promiſe to write to you on the ſubject of Iriſh applications here. I am exceedingly gratified by your letter, and the copy of the one to Lord North incloſed in it that I received yeſterday. Nothing could be better judged or better timed than the addreſs and the application, and I think now I really ſee a probability that *Ireland will at laſt become a favoured country, and add that ſtrength and riches to the empire it is ſo capable of doing.* Lord Nugent, you muſt have known, has undertaken the ſugar buſineſs. I thought it was brought forward a little prematurely, but I was happy in being able to check the oppoſition intended againſt it. The ground I had propoſed putting the application for a direct importation upon, and which I believe I mentioned to you, was the increaſe of

the

the conſumption of rum in Ireland, to the excluſion of French brandy. This I had ſtated to the Weſt India *Planters*, in hopes of engaging them to aſk for it, at leaſt to ſupport the application. While this matter was under conſideration, ſome zealous friends of Ireland, in the city, applied to the *Merchants* on the ſame ſubject, and *they* immediately ſuggeſted to the *Planters*, that the purpoſe of the people of Ireland was to introduce foreign ſugars inſtead of Britiſh, and foreign rum alſo. They therefore joined with the Merchants, in requeſting that the liberty of a direct importation might not be granted. They came of courſe to this office, which gave me an opportunity of entering fully into the matter with them. I ſet out with granting that the liberty requeſted would be a very trivial benefit to the north-eaſtern ſide of Ireland, as the vicinity of the coaſt of England and Scotland made it no great inconvenience to that part of the country to land their ſugars in England or Scotland, and then bring them over, and perhaps they were fully paid for that inconvenience, by having the monopoly of the whole kingdom. But *there* was the evil and hardſhip to be redreſſed. The whole weſt and ſouth-weſt parts of Ireland

were

were excluded almoſt entirely from the Weſt India trade; for if they brought any rum from thence, they could bring no ſugar with it, as the expence and difficulty of ſending the ſugar to England to be landed, and then bringing it back again, would be more than even the land carriage from Dublin, or the other eaſtern ports. An entire cargo of rum being too much for one Merchant, in an out-port, to import (and he could not bring one aſſorted with ſugar) the conſequence was, that very little rum was imported, and French brandy was encouraged to be ſmuggled, to ſupply the conſumption in its ſtead. That a direct trade with the Weſt India iſlands from all parts of Ireland would be the certain means of extending the conſumption of both rum and ſugar over the whole kingdom, and that in point of regulation and domeſtic œconomy, it was moſt illiberal and unjuſt to oppoſe a propoſition, which had for its object the fair circulation of trade, and putting all parts of a country upon an equal footing. They were ſo candid as to own, that in the light I repreſented the matter, they did not ſee any juſt ground of oppoſing what was deſired, if care was taken to prevent the introduction of foreign ſugars; which I promiſed ſhould be done;

done; and I hope if any regulations are wanting in your cuſtom-houſes for that purpoſe, you will have them ſupplied. The exportation of ſoap and candles, from Ireland to the Weſt Indies, was alſo ſpoken of; and the Merchants aſſured me they would not oppoſe it, if ſuch a liberty was aſked for. Your linen buſineſs does not go on as I could wiſh; but as you will ſee the agent's correſpondence with the linen board, I need not ſay any thing more upon the ſubject. In the Fiſhery Bill, I hope to ſteal in a liberty to ſend all ſorts of linens, of Iriſh manufacture, to Africa, if nothing better can be done this ſeſſion. The Parliament will not riſe at Eaſter, as was intended, though moſt of the buſineſs will be done before it, but will be kept on by adjournments for ſome time.

I have prepared a bill for granting free trade from Ireland to the plantations in Africa and America (except in the article of wool, and woollen goods) *and the importation from thence of all their products*, with this proviſo, that none imported, in conſequence of *that act*, ſhall be re-exported from Ireland, except to Great Britain. This I do to remove the merchant's apprehenſions, that Ireland may become the

depôt of American goods, to ſend to other parts of Europe, which certainly ought not to be; and if we get the direct importation of our own conſumption, I think we ſhould be content. I have run this over in ſo great a hurry, I fear you will not be able to read it.

Believe me, however,

Moſt truly your's, &c.

WILLIAM KNOX.

P. S. Orders have been given, this day, for tranſports to take two Highland regiments from the Clyde to Ireland; they will make 2000.

No. XVI.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

I SHOULD have immediately thanked you for your very obliging and ſatisfactory letter, but that I have been ſo employed as not to have one moment for it. *My Lord Lieutenant is exceedingly happy in your having had an opportunity of diſpoſing the planters and merchants to the bill giving us a free trade to Africa and America* (ex-

cept

cept in the article of woollen goods) *and a direct importation of their product, and he is much obliged by your having undertaken to bring into the House a bill for that purpose.* It is much to be wished a proper advantage may be taken of the present concurrence of circumstances in favour of Ireland. My Lord Lieutenant would have stated propositions, but that the stating particulars at such a conjuncture is difficult; too much or too little might be asked, and therefore his Excellency thought it best to make a general requisition, *and as you have not suggested the expediency of making any particular application,* and the Speaker is now in England, my Lord Lieutenant will rest the cause of Ireland upon that dispatch to Lord North. I shall, however, inclose to you the draught of an act, which was prepared some time since for the purpose you are now pursuing, as it may possibly be of some use, and *if it occurs to you, that any particular application from my Lord Lieutenant to government can promote your work, I beg you will state it to me by express,* that I may lose no time in laying it before his Excellency. Since writing the above, Sir Lucius O'Brian has mentioned to me his intention of going to England; he has a great deal of information

upon the ſubject of commerce, and may be uſeful to you.

I have the honour to be,

Your much obliged

And obedient humble ſervant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Caſtle,
10th April, 1778.

The draught of the act I incloſe does not extend ſo far as you propoſe, but I thought the plan of the act might poſſibly be of ſome uſe.

No. XVII.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 21ſt April, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE arrival of the Speaker ſo opportunely removed all my apprehenſions of our affairs ſuffering for want of authoritative ſolicitation. You will have received the copies of the five bills that have been brought in and read; they contain every thing we can deſire; but I am

not

not without my fears of their undergoing ſome alterations. Briſtol has already ſet forward an oppoſition, and Liverpool, Mancheſter, and Glaſgow, will certainly join in it; London, I believe, will be quiet. The Weſt India merchants have been again with me. They very candidly told me they would not oppoſe any part of the bills, if they could be ſatisfied that foreign ſugars were not meant to be introduced into Ireland, inſtead of Britiſh plantation. I aſſured them no ſuch thing was intended, and ventured to undertake, that any regulation they could propoſe, conſiſtent with the general purpoſe of the application, would be adopted in Ireland. Sir Lucius O'Brian has ſince told me, I did not go too far in my undertaking, and I am to bring ſome of the merchants to meet him and the Speaker, to have their confirmation of it. As Sir Lucius propoſes ſtaying here to watch the progreſs of the bills; and the buſineſs is now in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, that I can do little to promote it, except by advice, I ſhall not have occaſion to trouble you any farther upon this ſubject, until the iſſue is known; but I would recommend it to you, as the beſt means of engaging adminiſtration to ſupport the meaſure, to take the bills into conſidera-

tion,

tion, and write to Lord North, in the name of the Council, expreſſing great thankfulneſs for the kindneſs intended to Ireland, and ſtrong aſſurances of grateful returns; and be as liberal as poſſible, both of your thanks and promiſes, and in extolling the benefits Ireland, and, through her, Great Britain will derive from ſuch generous and liberal conduct. It would be right alſo to take ſome notice of the objections made to opening the trade of Ireland, particularly the danger of clandeſtine importations and exportations, and offer to recommend to Parliament with confidence of ſupport, any proper meaſure for giving greater ſecurity againſt illicit commerce, than the preſent laws or regulations do that ſhall be thought fit and neceſſary by adminiſtration. It is now you ſhould try your ſtrength, and every gentleman ſhould apply to his connections here, and the traders ſhould alſo write to their correſpondents to give their aſſiſtance. I wiſh the *re-exportation* of Engliſh woollens had been forbidden in the exportation bill, for I ſo well know the jealouſy of Engliſhmen reſpecting *that manufacture*, that I would never ſuffer them to think we could have any idea of encouraging it in Ireland, or ſmuggling our own out inſtead

ſtead of theirs. I hope the Scotch propoſition reſpecting the fiſhery will be adopted on your ſide; it is not the very thing you want, but it will certainly lead to it, in the mean time your ſituation will be mended. I muſt now beg you will preſent my reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant,

And believe me, &c.

WILLIAM KNOX.

No. XVIII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

AS my Letter of the 10th would be in a great meaſure an anſwer to what was contained in that I had the honour to receive from you of the 8th, and as you would immediately after ſee our Speaker and Sir Lucius O'Brian, I have not troubled you with any acknowledgement of it, relying, that if any thing occurred in which my Lord Lieutenant *could promote your buſineſs*, you would have wrote to me. *I underſtand from my friends, you will be able to weather the oppoſition which will appear after the receſs: if you do you will perform wonders.* I laſt night received a letter from Sir Lucius O'Brian, deſiring

firing Mr. John Wetherall, Deputy Examinator of the Cuſtoms, and Mr. Robert Stephenſon, Inſpector of the Linen Board, may be ſent over as witneſſes. As I do not know how to direct to Sir Lucius, I wiſh you would acquaint him Mr. Wetherall, and Mr. Stephenſon are both in the country, but that I will endeavour that you ſhall have them by the 2d of May.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
April 25, 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XIX.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

THE bearer is Mr. Wetherall, one of the gentlemen Sir Lucius O'Brian deſired ſhould attend the committee. He was in the country, which prevented his coming ſooner. Mr. Wetherall is Aſſiſtant Examinator of the Cuſtoms, and of great knowledge in his branch, and we have thought it right that he ſhould bring with him the books of the cuſtoms for the laſt ſeven years.

Mr.

Mr. Stephenſon, the other perſon deſired to attend, was in the country, and is not yet returned, though I ſent an expreſs to him immediately, but as ſoon as he comes I will diſpatch him to you.

My Lord Lieutenant had wrote in the moſt urgent terms, and has, ſince I received your letter, repeated his repreſentations of the wiſhes and diſpoſitions of the gentlemen in this country. I ſhall hope to receive an account of your ſucceſs very ſoon,

And am, with great eſteem,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful,

humble ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
April 29, 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XX.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Soho Square, May 4, 1778.

Dear Sir,

WHAT I apprehended from the interference of the Iriſh gentlemen in our application has happened; their eagerneſs, mixed with threats, and not a little inflamed by ignorance both of this country and their own, and the times, have conſpired to raiſe ſuch a tempeſt as to give us many fears for the fate of all the bills. When I went to Lord North this morning, I found his Lordſhip under much embarraſſment and anxiety; a gentleman from Briſtol was with him, to lay before him the grounds of oppoſition determined on by that city, to ſupport which, a deputation from the manufacturers of hemp and iron, ſoap and candles, was come to town. It is not neceſſary to give you a detail of our converſation, it ended in giving Lord North hopes that an accommodation might be effected, and the Briſtol deputies were to come to me at two o'clock. I

immediately

immediately ſent for Sir Lucius O'Brian, who fortunately was in the way and came to me. The iron and hemp manufacturers deputies met us, they ſtated their objections to the general exportation bill, which went to ſhew, that the Iriſh could manufacture theſe articles cheaper than the Engliſh, becauſe of the difference of the duties laid upon the importation of the materials. The duty upon iron imported into England is near 3l. 3s. no part of which is drawn back upon the re-exportation except to Ireland. In Ireland the duty is only 1l. 4s. Engliſh, Ireland has therefore the advantage of 1l. 19s. per ton, on that material. The hemp was ſtated in the ſame way, and the difference in favour of Ireland was equal. They generouſly waved all conſideration of the advantage Ireland had in cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, and candidly declared *they were willing that Ireland ſhould ſhare with England in all her trade*, but they could not conſent ſhe ſhould have it in her power to *beat England out of the market*. Their propoſition therefore was, *that the ſame duties ſhould be laid by Ireland on the importation of the materials, as were laid and not drawn back in England*. We applauded their principle as fair and friendly, but Sir Lucius ſtated other

ways of equalizing the charge of the materials, which were the taking off the duty here, or giving it back upon re-exportation, both which I knew Lord North would disapprove, and therefore I went to a third; I told them, that Ireland being in possession of these materials at present, at a low duty, the manufactures she made of them for her own consumption, and for exportation to all foreign countries, had that advantage over those of England. A duty therefore upon importation equal to the English duty, would be a burthen upon her own consumption and foreign export, which she had no reason for laying, and could not be expected to impose. The thing desired by the bill was a liberty to export to the colonies. *That liberty* therefore was the *only object of regulation.* I desired them to calculate the difference between manufactured and rough iron, so as to ascertain the quantity of the one, upon a medium, employed to make the other, and asked them if Ireland laid a duty upon the exportation of manufactured iron *to the British colonies*, equal to what was paid upon the rough iron in England, would that remove their objection? They answered, that the common computation was, that

two

two tons of rough iron went to make one ton of manufactured iron; but as they imagined Ireland muſt be content for many years with the coarſer kinds of iron manufactures, they would compute at the rate of a ton and a half for a ton, and, according to that computation of the Iriſh Parliament, would lay a duty of 2l. 18s. per ton on all manufactured iron exported to the colonies, they would be ſatisfied, and wave all oppoſition to the bill. The hemp people adopted the ſame principle, and they gave us reaſon to believe, that it would be alſo adopted by the traders and manufacturers in other branches.

Lord North was as much pleaſed with this proſpect of accommodation, and will hold it out to Parliament when the bills are committed, on Wedneſday. I ſend you this notice by expreſs, to quiet the apprehenſions of your friends that all will be loſt; and give me, in return, your and their opinion of the propoſition, which is in general, *that all Iriſh manufactures exported, in conſequence of the liberty to be now granted, ſhall carry out with them to the colonies a duty equal to that which remains upon thoſe of the ſame denomination exported from England.* If the Houſe

of

of Commons adopts this propoſition on Wedneſday, Sir Lucius will ſet off immediately for Ireland, in order to propoſe it in the Houſe of Commons there, as a regulation of trade, and give his aſſiſtance to carry it through. I know you will communicate this to the Speaker, and therefore I do not write to him; but I beg you will preſent him my reſpects.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXI.

Dear Sir,

I WISH you would acquaint Sir Lucius O'Brian that I ſent an expreſs into the country, and brought Mr. Stephenſon, one of the perſons he deſired might be ſent to England, to Dublin. He has ſome office under the Linen Board, and was intended by Sir Lucius to have been examined upon that ſubject; but the Truſtees of the Linen Board being informed, that it

was

was intended he ſhould come to you, expreſſed their diſapprobation of it; and the Primate and the Duke of Leinſter both came to me, and deſire, from the Board, he might not be ſent.

We are extremely anxious for the proceedings of your Parliament. If your reſolutions, or the moſt material of them, are carried into a law, our ſeſſions will, I think, end very happily; but if they fail, we may look for all the conſequences of diſappointment. However, I always look for the beſt. I am,

Dear Sir,

With great truth,

Your moſt obliged

Dublin Caſtle,
6th *May*, 1778.

Humble ſervant,

R. HERON.

No.

No. XXII

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Soho-ſquare, 9th May, 1778—8 *o'clock A. M.*

Dear Sir,

FROM what paſſed in the Committee laſt night, upon the Import Bill, Sir Lucius O'Brian and myſelf think your Houſe of Commons ought, without delay, to bring in a bill upon the propoſition I mentioned to you in my laſt; and Sir Lucius ſends, by this expreſs, clauſes to the Speaker for the ſubſtance of the bill. If this meaſure be adopted, not a moment ſhould be loſt, and the inſtant the bill has been read a copy ſhould be ſent to Lord North, from my Lord Lieutenant, as a meaſure of Government, which he is to communicate to Parliament.

The Iriſh Government have been much blamed by all ſides for their treatment of the Roman Catholics; if you could do any thing in their behalf at this time, you would feel the advantage of it in the progreſs of the bills; it

is

is under conſideration here to repeal the act of Queen Anne, reſpecting the forfeited eſtates. I have much to ſay upon the ſubject, but you will find the ſubſtance of my plan, in a note, in my "Defence of the Quebec Act," publiſhed when that act paſſed; it is intitled "the Juſtice and Policy, &c. vindicated." Watſon, the Bookſeller, in Capel-ſtreet, has them. I beg my reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXIII.

To WILL. KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dublin Caſtle, 10th May, 1778.

SIR,

I LAST night received, by expreſs, your letter of the 4th inſtant, communicating to me, for the information of my Lord Lieutenant, the particulars which paſſed in a conference between

you and the iron and hemp manufacturers' deputies, and desiring an opinion from hence upon the proposition intended to remove the objection made by the several traders and manufacturers interested in the bills now before the British Parliament, viz. That all Irish manufactures which shall be exported, in consequence of the liberty to be now granted, shall carry out with them a duty equal to that which remains upon those of the same denomination exported from England.

I have by his Excellency's directions informed the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Prime Serjeant and Attorney General, and some other members of the first consequence in the House of Commons, of the import of your letter. And I dispatch this to you, at their desire, by a messenger, to acquaint you, that none of those gentlemen has, nor have I, the smallest apprehension that a proposition so reasonable, and upon which measures of great national importance will depend, can fail of being cheefully adopted by this House of Commons. I therefore wish *you would have bills drawn in England, and the draughts sent over*, as the best mode of informing us what it is precisely that you

expect from our Parliament; and I am the more desirous of receiving the information of what is expected by Great Britain in this mode, as these being money bills, cannot, if we should mistake your intentions, be altered, when sent to England, without great inconvenience; and as the session is drawing towards a conclusion, there will be no time for explanations.

I have given directions to the messenger who brings the letter to wait your orders, and I wish to receive the draughts of the bills we are to pass by him as soon as they can be prepared, and you shall see the bills you are passing are safe with you.

I am directed by my Lord Lieutenant to make his acknowledgements for the assistance you have given, and your attention to him in this business; and am,

SIR,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

W. HERON.

No. XXIV.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, May 14, 1778.

Dear Sir,

YOUR letter by expreſs arrived very fortunately. The violence of ſome of our friends excited ſuch a jealouſy of the determined purpoſe of the gentlemen connected with Ireland, to carry matters with a high hand, and allow no compromiſe of modification, that a ſpirit was riſing which would ſoon have put an end to all our expectations. Mr. Robinſon told me on Wedneſday, that he had received more than twenty-one meſſages from gentlemen who had voted for the commitment of the bills; acquainting him that they had done ſo with a view of giving *ſomething* to Ireland; but as they underſtood *all was meant to be contended for*, they would now vote for their rejection, I immediately ſent to Mr. Gaſcoyne, who had taken a ſtrong part againſt the import bill, and he was ſo obliging to come to me. He told me he had been with the Mancheſter and Liverpool people, and that, finding their ſtrength, they were determined that day to put a ſhort queſtion upon the import bill.

I was

I will not trouble you with a detail of our converſation; but it ended in *my propoſing to except, out of the export bill, cottons of all denominations, mixed or unmixed, German linens, printed or ſtained, ditto gunpowder, glaſs, hops, beaver wool, hats, coals, woollen manufacture in all its branches.* The ſugars, he contended, could not be given up without drawing on the intire ruin of Liverpool and Lancaſhire; but if they were excepted, he had a good argument to uſe for the allowance of the exports, which was, that the bulky goods remaining, freight for their manufactures would be always had at an eaſy rate, and that would ſecure them a market. I would have offered an additional duty on the ſugars directly imported, and gave him the incloſed paper, as a propoſition; but nothing would be admitted but an abſolute exception. He went however from me in ſo good a temper, that he perſuaded the committee for oppoſing the bills, to avoid coming to a queſtion that day; and meeting Sir Lucius O'Brian, a propoſal for accommodation was taken into conſideration, and the gentlemen of Ireland ſummoned to meet next morning at Lord George Germaine's office; the reſult of that meeting was, to endeavour to obtain the export bill,

with

with the exceptions I have mentioned; but a point that had been inſiſted on by the Manchester people, viz. the taking off the duty on the exportation of yarn from Ireland was to be reſiſted.

This day the committee on the import bill adjourned till Monday ſe'nnight, in order to give an opportunity for the export bill to make a progreſs in the mean time. And if it paſſes, with the exceptions I mentioned, I imagine the import bill will be deferred to the next ſeſſion. The taking off the duty upon the yarn is ſtill contended for; but I have no doubt the Mancheſter people will be beat upon the queſtion.

I give this haſty account, that you may be able to judge of the ſtate of things, and form your minds to receive with thankfulneſs what it is likely will be granted, which, in truth, is more than I expected, after the imprudent interference of the *friends* of Ireland *as they* called *themſelves*. I beg my beſt reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant; and am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

The

The paper incloſed with the foregoing.

There is, at preſent, no Weſt-India commodities imported into the weſtern part of Ireland. The inhabitants of that part of Ireland conſume no rum, and ſcarcely any ſugar; whatever therefore of thoſe commodities may be imported into thoſe parts, will be an increaſe of the preſent conſumption, and no diminution of the trade from London, Briſtol and Liverpool, to Ireland.

Sugars, if directly imported into Ireland, would now pay 9d. per cwt. more duty than ſugars imported from England. An additional duty of 16d. upon ſugars imported directly, added to the preſent duty, will prevent any part of Ireland that now imports ſugars from England from importing them directly, and therefore the trade, with reſpect to them, will continue on its preſent footing. But the weſtern parts may find it for their advantage to pay the additional duty, and open a direct trade with the Weſt-Indies.

It is therefore propoſed, that an additional duty of 16d. per cwt. be laid in Ireland upon all ſugars imported directly from the plantations into Ireland, and that no duty be re-paid upon the re-exportation of refined ſugars from Ireland to the plantations.

No. XXV.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 16th May, 1778.

Dear Sir,

IN my letter by laſt night's poſt, I gave you ſome account of what had paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and at the meetings which had been held with the oppoſers of the bills for the purpoſe of accommodation.

The export bill is to be read the ſecond time on Monday, and to be committed on Tueſday; Mr. Wetherall is employed in the mean time to prepare an exact ſtate of the duties the Parliament of Ireland is to impoſe on goods exported, in order to make the charge equal to that which the Engliſh goods carry out with them agreeable to what has been agreed on, but as

that

that will take ſome time, and you muſt then paſs bills in conſequence, we are apprehenſive the Parliament here will not ſit long enough to admit of thoſe bills arriving here, and we doubt if the Houſe of Commons will paſs the export bill upon the credit of our undertaking that ſuch duties ſhall be laid. To obviate this difficulty, we have thought of propoſing a clauſe to be inſerted in the export bill, reſtraining in effect the operation of that bill until your Parliament ſhall have impoſed ſuch duties; and I ſend you a draught of a clauſe which Lord Nugent, Sir Lucius O'Brian, and myſelf, think will anſwer the purpoſe: but as the ground is very delicate, and if it ſhould excite any jealouſy in Ireland, the miſchief would be great, we think it beſt to ſend it to you by your meſſenger for your conſideration, or alteration, in what manner you may think proper; but we beg you would return it, or what you think would be more fit in the place of it, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, that the paſſage of the bill may not be delayed, for it muſt be added in the Houſe of Commons, and the third reading of the bill kept back for it.

I am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXVI.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 19th May, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I AM at Lord Nugent's with Sir John Blaquire, and Mr. Burke, celebrating the paſſage of the export bill through the committee with the exceptions I mentioned. A clauſe was propoſed, requiring a duty upon Iriſh linen yarn exported to England to be taken off, as the condition of granting the liberty of exporting the manufactures not excepted, but I have the pleaſure to inform you it was rejected by a majority of 79 to 33. Lord North diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a patron of the bill, and an oppoſer of the clauſe, and every gentleman who could have been expected from connection or ſituation to take a part, ſhewed a zeal that expreſſed their attachment to the cauſe of Ireland, thoſe eſpecially in whoſe company I write, took a very warm part, that it was alſo an able one nobody will doubt.

I think the bill is pretty ſafe, though not out of danger, and I ſend you this account by expreſs

preſs to quiet your apprehenſions, and keep up your ſpirits, but not to remove your anxiety entirely; for as *time* is our adverſary, there is no ſaying what advantage our opponents may make of ſuch an ally.

I am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

P. S. The bill for repealing the act of Queen Anne, reſpecting the Iriſh Roman Catholics was read a ſecond time this day, without oppoſition.

No. XXVII.

WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

I YESTERDAY received your letter of the 14th, by the mail, and by the meſſenger, that of the 16th, incloſing a clauſe propoſed to be inſerted in your export bill. In my former letters to you, upon this ſubject, I had mentioned that there was no doubt but the Parliament of Ireland would cheerfully concur in your propoſition for equalizing the duties on goods to be exported from hence, un-

der your act, to thoſe which the Engliſh goods carry out with them. But as you think it may be expected the clauſe you ſent me, and which I ſhall return, ſhould be inſerted in the act, I conferred to-day in the Speaker's chamber with many of the principal gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, as well thoſe who are the particular friends of Government, as thoſe who have not any immediate connection with Adminiſtration, and am perſuaded from what paſſed, that our Parliament would immediately lay ſuch duties upon the goods to be exported from hence, by virtue of your export bill, as this clauſe is calculated to obtain. It was therefore the wiſh of gentlemen, the bill ſhould paſs without a clauſe, which ſeems to expreſs a doubt of the Parliament here doing what is right in this reſpect, and which is the leſs neceſſary, as Ireland hopes for further benefits, and cannot be ſo impolitic as to forfeit her claim to them, by an ill uſe of what is now to be granted. However, if the clauſe is inſiſted upon, the gentlemen ſeemed of opinion, the inſerting it could not occaſion diſſatisfaction here upon the ground you mention, and in whatever way you paſs the bill, it is deſired that the moſt exact account may be ſent of the duties and taxes,

the

the goods, &c. imported from Great Britain, ſtand charged with, including the duties or taxes paid upon the fabric or importation thereof, or the materials thereof, and not drawn back upon exportation, that the Parliament, in laying on the duties here, may be ſure they proceed correctly in it.

I muſt not conceal that the long train of exceptions in this bill, particularly that reſpecting cotton, and the poſtponing the import bill to the next ſeſſion, were, after the high expectations, conceived a very great diſappointment here, but in this diſappointment they do not forget the ſtrenuous efforts of their friends, and ſeem extremely ſenſible of their exertion and zeal through the whole of this moſt important buſineſs.

I am, dear Sir,

With great reſpect and eſteem,

Your moſt faithful

And obedient ſervant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Caſtle,
22d May, 1778.

No.. XXVIII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

I AM exceedingly obliged by your letter of the 19*th, acquainting me the export bill had gone through the Commmittee.* I hope it will proceed without farther amendments. The Speaker ſhewed me to-day a printed bill with the exceptions as propoſed, and copies of the proviſoes, of all which he approves; *and now people's minds begin to cool, they are ſenſible of the advantages you have procured to this country* ;—I mean all reaſonable people, who will ſoon ſatisfy the reſt how thankful they ought to be to England for theſe conceſſions, and to the friends of this country for having procured them. But the unanimity with which the reſolutions paſſed had flattered Ireland every thing would be granted, and being afterwards alarmed with the apprehenſion of loſing every thing, the minds of people of all ranks were ſtrangely agitated, and the lower order feeling at the ſame time

great

great diſtreſs from the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the want of work, it is certain the diſappointment would have produced a *violent convulſion* in this kingdom. The criſis of this fever is paſſed; that which will be produced by agitating queſtions reſpecting the Popery Laws will, I ſee, be very violent, but does not ſeem of ſo dangerous a tendency as the other. The queſtion is between the individuals of the ſame country, and the party which is beat will have only to lament its being the weaker. The other would have become a queſtion, and an ugly one as it ſhould ſeem between nation and nation. Mr. Gardiner will, I believe, move to-morrow for leave to bring in heads of a bill for relief of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects of Ireland. He is not yet determined what to propoſe; there is a general idea of putting the Roman Catholics of Ireland upon the ſame footing with the Roman Catholics of England. Government will ſupport the motion for leave to bring in heads of a bill. There will be a ſtrong oppoſition againſt any alteration whatever, and a violent one againſt repealing the Gavelling Clauſe, which the Roman Catholics abhor, and their oppoſers, even moderate men, conſider as the palladium of Ireland. It will therefore be

very

very difficult to get rid of this clauſe; but, having done that, you will be ſuppoſed to have done every thing, and may, in another ſeſſion, blot the word Papiſt out of their ſtatutes. I conclude your Parliament will ſoon riſe; when we ſhall be able to do the ſame one cannot even conjecture.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged, and

faithful humble Servant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Caſtle.
24th May, 1778.

No. XXIX.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Soho Square, May 26th, 1778.

Dear Sir,

THE meſſenger that had the care of your letter of the 22d. inſtant did not deliver it to me before eight o'clock laſt night. An accident that had happened to me that morning confined me at home, but I had the pleaſure to hear the export bill was read the third time in the Houſe

of

of Commons, and carried up to the Lords time enough to receive a firſt reading that day. I do not apprehend it will meet with any material oppoſition in its paſſage through the Houſe of Lords. Sir Lucius O'Brian ſent the Speaker a copy of the bill after the report of the Committee, and it has undergone no alteration, ſince you will ſee by it, that a clauſe to the effect of the one I ſent you, and you returned, is inſerted, and I am glad to find it will occaſion no jealouſy on your ſide; it could not be omitted, for you muſt conſider it was not Parliament that required it, or Parliament that was to be ſatisfied without it, but the manufacturers and their repreſentatives. The clauſe reſpecting the iron was alſo required by the manufacturers of that commodity, and we had much ado to avoid others for the ſoap and cordage. And in truth I could not blame the tradeſpeople for inſiſting upon better ſecurity than Sir Lucius's, or my declaration that we would repreſent the matter; and even your letter to me, though ſufficiently ſatisfactory to every gentleman in Parliament, was not ſuch ſecurity as manufacturers are accuſtomed to truſt to: however, I am very happy that the buſineſs has been carried through even in the way it has, and I think ſuch a

foundation is laid as we may erect *an engine upon to pull the two iſlands together ſome time hence*, and until that happens, Ireland will be increaſing in wealth, population, and revenue. From the deſire you expreſs in your former letter, of having an exact ſtate of the duties you were to impoſe ſent to you, I thought it right to enter into the ſubject with the agents for the ſeveral manufacturers. Mr. Wetherall's preſence was a great advantage, and he, with the aſſiſtance of an able officer belonging to the cuſtom-houſe here, went through the book of rates, examining and comparing the duties in each iſland upon each article. The ſoap proved a difficult one. The duty upon barilla imported here is 4s. 6d. per cwt. the ſame duty is laid in Ireland, but with the exception of *what may be for the uſe of the linen manufacture*, under which exception the whole imported into Ireland has avoided the duty. Such being the caſe, I could not ſet the Iriſh duty againſt the Britiſh, yet as our object was ſoap *exported*, which could not be ſaid to be for the Iriſh linen manufacture, all barilla uſed in making ſoap for exportation muſt either pay the duties, or the importers be perjured. The latter, I much feared, would be the caſe; and, therefore, inſtead

of

of making the importer's oath ſtronger, and to except ſoap for exportation, I judged it beſt to accommodate upon the footing of the barilla duty in Ireland being repealed, in order to ſave the conſciences of my countrymen, without prejudice to the revenue. The next difficulty reſpecting this article was, the duty upon tallow exported from Ireland; for the Briſtol and Lancaſhire ſoap-makers declared, that the greateſt part of the ſoap they exported to the Weſt Indies was made of Iriſh tallow; it being of a harder nature, and therefore kept better in a hot climate than either Engliſh or Ruſſia tallow. This point I would not diſcuſs; I ſtood to the terms of the agreement, which could only mean that *native commodities ſhould be ſet againſt native commodities, and foreign againſt foreign.* That if they allowed their tallow to be exported to Ireland without any duty, then they might complain of the duty upon Iriſh tallow; but, as the Iriſh could not have theirs at any rate, they ought to be thankful to the Iriſh for ſuffering them to have theirs at ſo low a duty as 1s. 6d. per cwt. This reaſoning prevailed, and they gave up the point.

Another charge they had to make, was the duty on ſtamps of their bonds and certificates, &c. all which upon a medium they fairly made out amounted to ſixpence per hundred; the duty on ſalt uſed in making an hundred of ſoap was threepence; and with the barilla duty, which was two ſhillings and threepence for half a hundred, made the whole amount to three ſhillings, which we had a duty of ſixpence to ſet againſt. But by much debating we got off the ſtamp duty; and by repreſenting that our ſoap-boilers made uſe of kelp inſtead of barilla, and that our ſoap was inferior to theirs, they were brought to agree that we ſhould lay an additional duty of one ſhilling and ſixpence Iriſh on all our ſoap exported to the colonies; and that if the Parliament thought fit to take off the duty on barilla imported, it was not to affect the agreement. This I thought a good bargain for Ireland, eſpecially as I am certain barilla muſt be uſed by the Iriſh ſoap-boilers for what they ſend to the Weſt Indies; but it is fair to Lord Nugent and Sir Lucius that I ſhould tell you, *they did not go with me entirely in this bargain.* Lord Hillſborough, whom I have ſince talked with on the ſubject, thinks you ought to lay on a much higher duty, as ſoap is a material for

the

the linen manufacture, and a large exportation might injure it. Candles you have a ſhilling per hundred on, and there is no duty upon candles exported from Great Britain; but from compaſſion to the Lancaſhire people, who convinced me they now exported candles, made of Iriſh tallow, to the amount of ten thouſand pounds, and *perhaps out of a little policy to ſoften the reſentment of that country*, I promiſed I would recommend it to you to lay ſixpence *per cwt.* more on Iriſh candles, but I *undertook* nothing. The cordage would have been a greater difficulty than the ſoap, if Lord North had not removed the objection. Hemp pays a duty upon importation here, and all cordage, except what is exported to the colonies, has a bounty equal to it. Any duty that you might lay could eaſily be evaded by declaring the cordage to be for the ſhip's ſtores; and it is known that you do now ſend cordage to the colonies *in that way.* A duty equal to that paid here upon the importation of hemp I would not hear of; and I knew the duty on hemp imported here could not be given up, and therefore the only way of accommodating both ſides was to extend the bounty to Britiſh cordage exported to the colonies; and upon my ſtating the matter to

Lord

Lord North, *he at once agreed to it with that cheerfulneſs with which he has done every thing for Ireland this ſeſſion it was poſſible to expect.* The leather, which is almoſt the only remaining article on which Ireland has not as high or higher duties upon exportation than remain here, has been ſettled by Mr. Wetherall: no agent appeared for the manufacturers, and therefore we could not make an agreement. In the whole progreſs of this buſineſs, and in the conduct of all future matters of the kind, the want of a Board of Trade or other office in Ireland, to tranſact with, has been, and muſt be ſeverely felt. Indeed the Speaker and Sir Lucius O'Brian have moſt kindly ſupplied the defect in the preſent inſtance; but you muſt not always expect the two gentlemen who moſt poſſeſs the confidence of the Houſe of Commons on commercial ſubjects, will take the ſame trouble upon all future occaſions. The advantage you will make of the conceſſions obtained for you will much depend upon the regulations trade is put under; and a *receptacle* and *depoſit* for commercial knowledge is the only means of collecting and bringing into uſe the information upon which ſuch regulations ought to be founded. You will therefore, I

hope,

hope, pardon me for hinting to you the propriety of following theſe conceſſions on the part of England by the appointment of a Chamber of Commerce, or Board of Trade, or ſome ſuch like office, to ſuperintend your trade, to watch over the laws paſſed here, and to collect information by correſponding with all parts to which you can carry on a trade. I will now put an end to this long epiſtle, by requeſting you to preſent my beſt reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and humble thanks for the obliging notice he has taken of my little endeavours to promote his Excellency's wiſhes for the advantage of Ireland, and begging you to believe me with great regard,

Dear Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

P. S. The fiſhery and the ſhip clauſe were not objected to. By the Newfoundland fiſhery returns it appears, there have *been two thouſand more Iriſh employed there in each year ſince the liberties granted to Ireland than before.*

No. XXX.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 28th May, 1778.

Dear Sir,

NO circumſtance has ariſen in the Houſe of Commons on the ſecond reading or commitment of the export bill that would have given occaſion to me to trouble you with another letter, after the very long one I diſpatched by your meſſenger on Tueſday evening. The ſhare I have been obliged to take in the Iriſh buſineſs has, however, led *ſome perſons* here to imagine, that I ought to continue to correſpond with you upon every matter of importance to Ireland that is in agitation here; and therefore I am now to give you ſome account of the Popery bills.

The one for repealing the firſt of Queen Anne I apprized you of in a former letter, as intended to remove an obſtruction out of the way of the Iriſh Parliament to their extending *the rights of men* to the Roman Catholics; and at the ſame time give a ſtrong intimation of the

ſenſe of Parliament here, that ſuch uſe ought to be made of it. The ſentiments of individuals correſponded with the public meaſure; ſcarce a member ſpoke againſt the export or import bills, but reprobated the Iriſh policy of oppreſſing and rendering uſeleſs the better half of the inhabitants. How can that government, it was ſaid, complain of narrow and confined conduct in England towards them, when they perſiſt in a plan infinitely more narrow and perſecuting with regard to their own people. But another ſtep has been taken by Parliament here that will operate more powerfully than the intimation conveyed by the bill I have mentioned. Another bill has been brought in for relieving the Roman Catholics of Great Britain from many of the reſtraints and hardſhips laid upon them by the laws of this country; and I have the ſatisfaction to tell you, that this bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons with only one diſſenting voice; and has been read twice, and yeſterday went through the Committee of the Lords without any material amendment or alteration. Both bills have been ſupported by the whole Bench of Biſhops, and the Diſſenters have been zealous promoters of them, as a proof of the liberality of their ſentiments, and an induce-

ment to grant them indulgencies they have heretofore in vain ſolicited. If this example ſhould fail of influencing the Iriſh Parliament to take ſome ſtep in favour of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, their want of liberality will bring on them the reproach of even the Scotch Preſbyterians, who have gone cheerfully with the Britiſh meaſure. But a worſe conſequence than reproach will follow to Ireland, if their bigotry gets the better of their policy: every Roman Catholic of property will quit the kingdom, and remove into Great Britain. The liberties juſt granted to you in trade will be of no advantage; for you will neither have money to carry on an extenſive commerce, nor hands to employ. I incloſe the copies of the bills, that the gentlemen of Ireland may ſee what is doing here; and I flatter myſelf they will adopt the meaſure, and not ſuffer this ſeſſion to paſs over without manifeſting to their countrymen an equal regard for their happineſs as the Britiſh Parliament has teſtified.

I am,

Dear Sir, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No.

No. XXXI.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

SIR Lucius O'Brian, Mr. Wetherall, and Mr. Foſter, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, have, with the aſſiſtance of the Attorney General and the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, ſettled the duties which are to be laid on ſuch articles of the manufacture and produce of the kingdom, as are by the act you have paſſed this ſeſſion permitted to be exported from hence to the Plantations in America, the Weſt Indies, and to Africa; ſo as to raiſe the duties here on thoſe articles to as high an amount, as articles of the ſame quality exported from Great Britain are chargeable with; and the Attorney General has prepared heads of a bill, which will be brought into the Houſe to-day, for laying on thoſe duties. This operation has been a difficult one, *notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance you have given us.* But I believe, from the abilities and care of the gentlemen who have been employed in it, that it will be found properly executed and conformable to the inten-

tion of the Britiſh legiſlature, and of the manufacturers in Great Britain, ſo as to entitle Ireland to the full benefit of your export act.

The raiſing duties here upon articles carrying out a charge in their export from England, to as high an amount as thoſe articles carry out from England, is a meaſure required by the Britiſh act of Parliament. And as that act has given to Ireland the full liberty of exporting to the ſame plantations, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, certain articles excepted, and all goods the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, certain articles excepted, and all certificate goods, ſome gentlemen here have thought, that, according to the principles of equality profeſſed by your export act, theſe ſeveral articles ſhould be exported from hence upon the ſame terms as they are exported from Great Britain, according to the ſcheme I incloſe, and they have brought in heads of a bill for that purpoſe.

I acquainted theſe gentlemen that, notwithſtanding the ſeeming equity of this propoſition, as my Lord Lieutenant had no inſtructions upon the ſubject, and as it was no part of what is

required by the Britiſh act, his Excellency could neither ſuffer it to be implicated in that act with the other propoſition; nor could he give any countenance to ſuch a bill, as it was impoſſible to foreſee what objection might ariſe to it in England. His Excellency could therefore neither permit the bill for raiſing the duties (in which no alteration could be made in England, it being a money bill) to be hazarded by the inſertion of any thing not required by the Britiſh act; nor could any way concur in their meaſure, as the doing ſo might be deemed the holding out a falſe expectation, if there ſhould appear to the Britiſh miniſtry any reaſons for rejecting their bill. They have, however, prepared and brought in heads of ſuch a bill, in as guarded a manner as could be done, and it muſt take its chance in England. *You will judge of the propriety of the meaſure by the incloſed papers, and I trouble you with them now, that you may conſider the propriety of it, when the bills ſhall be tranſmitted from the council.*

You have, I doubt not, heard of the awkward ſtate of the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom. The *oppoſers* of this bill grew every day more warm, till,

till, contrary to what there was reaſon to expect, they joined the Preſbyterians, and together inſerted a clauſe for repeal of the ſacramental teſt, enacted here by the 2d of Anne, intitled, " An " act to prevent the further growth of popery," the law which created the diſabilities, the preſent bill intended to remove. They introduced this clauſe from an opinion, that the repeal of the teſt would be diſagreeable to Government, and therefore obſtruct the bill. If the bill returns from England without this clauſe, there will be difficulty in carrying it through the Commons; if with the clauſe, in carrying it through the Lords. The hiſtory of this teſt law is, that it was tacked to the ſecond of Anne in England, with a view to occaſion that law being thrown out upon its return hither. The repeal of the teſt is now tacked to the heads of this bill, for relief againſt thoſe diſabilities, with a view to occaſion its being thrown out in England, or rejected here by the Lords.

I am, Sir,

With great reſpect,

Your moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
June 24, 1778.

R. HERON.

No.

No. XXXII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

THE meſſenger who will deliver you this carries over ſeveral bills, of which two are our export bills. My Lord Lieutenant has wrote to the Lord Preſident, Lord North, and Lord Weymouth upon the ſubject, and has furniſhed their Lordſhips in addition to his private letter, with an explanation of the principles of the bills, and I ſhall encloſe to you a copy of that paper. In my letter to Mr. Robinſon, I have referred him to my laſt letter to you. By miſtake a copy of the bill for equalizing the duties is not made, which I alſo intended to encloſe to you. Our manufactures here are in a moſt wretched ſituation, and we have now reaſon to apprehend very bad conſequences from the inability of the maſters to continue their journeymen at the loom. They have been ſupported a long time by ſubſcriptions, which are now exhauſted; and the maſters alledge they have an uncommon ſtock on hand and no money, ſo that there is reaſon to apprehend ſome diſorder. This country had means of conveying their manufactures abroad,

abroad, which have been ſtopped, and if their ports are not now opened, the country muſt be undone. There has, however, within theſe few days, been a conſiderable riſe in the linen, which may have ſome effect. I hope there will not be found any reaſon for rejecting either of the export bills. I wiſh you would ſee his Excellency's private letter reſpecting the bills, for I have not time to ſend you a copy of it.

I am,

Your moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Caſtle,
2d *July*, 1778.

No. XXXIII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

LORD Nugent has wrote to our Speaker, deſiring ſome perſon might be ſent from hence to ſolicit and explain the export bills, which were ſent by the meſſenger laſt night. If there was

any

any perſon here competent to the undertaking, that could be prevailed on to go, my Lord Lieutenant would moſt readily ſend him over, but there really is not. And I ſhould hope, the explanation which his Excellency has tranſmitted with the bills, of which I have ſent you a copy, and that I now encloſe, would, *with your friendly aid*, be ſufficient for the purpoſe.

I am therefore directed by my Lord Lieutenant to requeſt you will be ſo kind as to give us your beſt ſervices upon the occaſion. I am ſenſible I need not mention any inducement to you; but really the ſtate of our manufactures is ſuch as requires every idea of benefit ſhould be held out to this country, which can with propriety be done, in order to keep up the ſpirits of people, which are much affected; and if all proſpect of advantage from your export bill ſhould be loſt by the rejection of the bills ſent from hence, it might have a very ill effect here, the bills being for ſo ſhort a time; and as any thing which may want correcting may be done in the next ſeſſion of this Parliament, his Excellency hopes no difficulty can be made to the paſſing them.

As I have corresponded with you upon the former part of this buſineſs, I do not trouble Sir Grey Cooper or Mr. Robinſon upon the ſubject, knowing it will be communicated more effectually to them by you than by any thing I could write.

I encloſe herewith copies of the heads of the bills, and a ſtate, explaining the duties, which are granted by the bill.

I preſume it may be neceſſary to have a ſolicitor appointed to attend the progreſs of this buſineſs, as it may meet with obſtruction from the manufacturers of Great Britain. And I truſt you will be ſo kind, as to appoint a ſolicitor for this purpoſe, to whom I will be anſwerable for the fees he ſhall pay to Counſel, and all other expence that ſhall be incurred.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
July 4, 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XXXIV.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 6th *July*, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE this moment received your favour of the 2d inſtant by the meſſenger, and am glad to find the bills are arrived of which you gave me an account in a former letter. That for equalizing the duties by augmenting thoſe pay able in Ireland, correſponds entirely with the conditions of the Engliſh act, and the traders to whom I communicated the copy you ſent, object to nothing but the want of an additional ſixpence upon candles. That omiſſion will not, however, obſtruct the return of the bill. The other bill is an extenſion of the principle on which the firſt is founded, and in moſt parts will I think be acquieſced in by the traders; but there is one particular which will require ſome alteration. The reduction of the preſent duties on Iriſh manufactures exported from Ireland, to a level with the duties paid on the export of ſimilar manufactures of Engliſh fabrick from England, is conſiſtent with the idea of equality

adopted in the former caſe. But when the Iriſh materials pay a duty upon their export to England, and the manufacture from England carries out *that duty*, if the Iriſh manufacture pays none, the Iriſh will evidently have an advantage over the Engliſh manufacture, both being made of the *ſame Iriſh materials*. The inſtance of tallow and candles will explain my meaning; and in reſpect to thoſe articles, I am pretty ſure the Privy Council will not conſent to your taking off the one ſhilling per *cwt.** now charged upon candles, if you continue the 1s. 6d. on tallow ſent to England: and how extraordinary muſt it appear to the traders to find, inſtead of an additional duty of 6d. the old duty of 1s. 6d. we told them of taken off? If this bill for taking off duties be a money bill, I do not know how to ſave it; but there are two ways of amending it, if it be amendable. The one is, to inſert in the liſt of exceptions candles and every other article which pays a duty either upon its material or manufacture upon its export to England. The other to take off the duty upon ſuch, or its material going to England. If you have any means of doing either by an additional bill, I can get this bill kept back until ſuch an one can arrive.

* This was a miſtake in the copy ſent me.

The Roman Catholics' bill is, I think, in jeopardy. Lord George Germain has acquainted my Lord Lieutenant with what paſſed upon the ſubject on Thurſday. Inſtead of repealing the teſt entirely, I have propoſed a partial repeal in reſpect to military commiſſions, to ſhew confidence in the Diſſenters by truſting them with the ſword; at the ſame time, the church and civil government would remain ſafe from their interference. I propoſed to add alſo a repeal of the Churchwarden's oath and qualification, ſo far as to enable the Diſſenters to execute the office themſelves, and ſave the expence of deputies; and *indeed all chriſtians ought to join in taking away the oath; for no man can now take it without expoſing himſelf to ruin by complying with, or perjury by evading it.**

I give you this information from myſelf upon the inſtant, for there are no miniſters in town, and therefore I do not wiſh this letter to be conſidered as containing any opinions but my own.

The ſeveral matters I have written to you upon in the courſe of laſt ſeſſions will probably

* The Primate has ſince diſpenſed with the oath.

come

come again into diſcuſſion: and as I have kept no copies of my letters, I muſt beg the favour of you to ſend me copies when your office people are at leiſure.

I beg my reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXXV.

To William Knox, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

I HAVE conſulted with ſuch gentlemen who are in town, that are converſant with the ſubject of your letter, and we have looked over the two bills reſpecting the exports from this kingdom, (Sir Lucius O'Brian being one of thoſe gentlemen) from which it ſeems, that the objection made with reſpect to candles is not founded, as candles are included in the exceptions

tions in the ſecond bill; ſo that if the firſt, which is for raiſing the duties, is not exception-able, it follows, that candles being excepted in the ſecond bill, there is nothing in that bill to affect the principles of the firſt; and there do not occur to us any other article to which the principle of your objection can be applied.

It is difficult to ſay abſolutely, whether the ſecond bill would be conſidered by the Houſe as a Money Bill or not, as I find gentlemen differ upon that queſtion. If it could be paſſed without any alterations, it would be very happy; but if it cannot, as the whole is upon a principle of liberality to Ireland, it ought to be received with good humour; and if the alterations appear evidently neceſſary to the equality intended by both kingdoms, they may be acquieſced in, if the Houſe can conſider the bill as a bill of regulation; but it is hoped the alterations may be as few as poſſible.

The bill for relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is certainly embarraſſing, and produces ſuch a variety of ſentiments here, that it is extremely difficult to give any opinion upon the ſubject. I can only ſay, that whatever meaſure

is

is adopted, it will be ſupported by my Lord Lieutenant to the amount of his power.

I could not anſwer your letter ſooner, as the gentlemen with whom it was neceſſary for me to conſult, were moſt of them in the country.

I am, dear Sir,

Your much obliged,

and obedient,

humble ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
July 21, 1778. R. HERON.

No. XXXVI.

Right Honourable Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, 16*th July*, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I AM glad to find by looking into the bill itſelf, that the alarm I had taken becauſe of the new clauſe in the copy tranſmitted to me in your laſt, has not really been inſerted in the equalizing duty bill; where the clerk who made that copy for me got the clauſe I cannot comprehend,

prehend, but I truſt he will be more careful in future, not to inſert in his copies, things that are not in the original. Another miſtake I find was made in the copy ſent me of the trade bill, by omitting candles amongſt the excepted articles, which I find are excepted in the original; and it is diſagreeable enough to reflect that all the uneaſineſs I felt upon both accounts, proceeded from the careleſſneſs of the copier. I have the pleaſure to tell you the equalizing duty bill has with a ſmall amendment in expreſſion only, paſſed the Council, but the trade bill is poſtponed as I told you it would be; the Attorney General has however ſtated an objection which goes to the whole of the bill, and that is, that the duties reduced are laid by the act of Charles the Second, and conſequently what revenue would ariſe from them would be hereditary, and alſo, that the bounties and drawbacks are made payable out of the revenue at large, and ſo may be taken out of the hereditary revenue. I ſhowed him the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons in anſwer, but he will not admit a reſolution as a ſufficient ground to go upon, when an act is to be repealed; and he beſides alledged ſomething unfavourable to your good faith, in abiding by reſolutions in former caſes; on the

whole, therefore, I think this bill muſt be new modelled, and that for this ſeſſion you will ſee no more of it.

The Roman Catholic Bill will receive its deciſion this night. The Attorney General's report is favourable, but it has loſt a friend by Lord Gower going into the country. Lord George Germain will give a line to Lord Buckingham when the buſineſs is over. I hope it will have a favourable iſſue, though I much fear the contrary.

I am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXXVII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

IT is certain the arguments for giving a free paſſage for Engliſh goods through Ireland to America and the Colonies, might be applied to give a free paſſage for Iriſh goods through England to the ſame places; but that can only be

effected by an Engliſh act taking off the import duty or giving a bounty or drawback. The bill ſent over takes off the import duty on Engliſh goods ſent to America: England may by a law take off her import duty upon Iriſh goods ſent thither; but as Ireland does not know what part of the goods which go from Ireland to England, paſs to America, ſhe could not for the purpoſe of the American trade only, take off the export duties on the goods intended for America, without taking off the whole.

Sir Lucius O'Brian mentioned to me his apprehenſion, that the ſecond bill, by not excepting the articles on which duties are impoſed in the firſt, may occaſion difficulty with reſpect to thoſe duties. But this doubt is clearly without foundation, as the ſecond bill only takes off the duties from ſuch goods as might be lawfully exported, whereas iron, the only article not excepted, could not be *lawfully* exported without paying the duty required by the Britiſh act; and it is alſo clear, that both bills being of the ſame ſeſſion, or to render them effectual, conſidered as one bill. *My Lord Lieutenant deſires me to make his acknowledgements for all the trou-*

ble you are ſo kind as to take in this important buſineſs,

And I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged,

and obedient ſervant,

Dublin Caſtle,
July 16, 1778.

R. HERON.

No. XXXVIII.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

Whitehall, July 23, 1778.
3 *o'clock, P. M.*

Dear Sir,

THE Privy Council have this moment determined upon the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics. The bill is to go back without any amendment, except leaving out the tacked clauſe for the repeal of the teſt act. This has been obtained with much difficulty; and I hope you will be able to carry it through upon its arrival in its preſent ſtate. That you may have the earlieſt intelligence of this important determination,

tion, and have time to collect your forces before the bill appears, I ſend you this by expreſs; and I have the pleaſure to tell you farther, that the export bill is in a fair way of getting through with ſome amendments, which I think will will not be objected to on your ſide. The principal objection ſtated by the Attorney General to the bill as it came over is—the injury to the hereditary revenue, both in actual loſs, and prevention of increaſe. The reſolution of the Houſe of Commons he will not allow a ſufficient ſecurity, and therefore, to give it force I have propoſed to add to the laſt clauſe ſome words, expreſſive of the intention of Parliament to make compenſation to the hereditary revenue, both for the loſs and prevention of increaſe.—This expedient Lord North approves, after hearing a converſation between the Attorney General and me of four hours laſt night upon the ſubject, and the Attorney General is to prepare the addition, and the bill will paſs next Thurſday. I propoſe leaving out the clauſe that directs bond to be given on the export of Iriſh manufactures, not excepted, as a prejudicial ſhackle on your trade; for even your linens would be ſubject to it, and it would prevent you of the conſumption in the voyage and the

private

private trade with * * * * I perceive your reaſons for inſerting it, but as the addition to be made to the laſt clauſe will cover all defalcations of the hereditary revenue, ariſing from this act, there will be no harm done to it, even if all your foreign exports be made under colour of going to the Britiſh colonies; and I hope your foreign trade will increaſe by ſo ſaving the duty. I will detain this intelligence no longer from you than to beg you will preſent my beſt reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and to believe me,

Yours, &c. &c.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XXXIX.

To the Right Hon. Mr. HERON.

St. James's, July 31, 1778,
2 *o'clock, P. M.*

Dear Sir,

I HAVE now the pleaſure to inform you that the bill for the encouragement of trade is paſſed

paſſed by the Privy Conncil with the encloſed amendments and ſome literal corrections made by the Attorney General. The purpoſe of theſe amendments is to pledge Parliament by the act itſelf, to make good any diminution the hereditary revenue may ſuſtain, by taking off the 5 per cent. on the exports, or paying the drawbacks and bounties out of it, and the expreſſions made uſe of are taken from the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, to prevent any poſſible objection on the part of that Houſe to their being inſerted. The Attorney General had propoſed to leave out the words "*cuſtoms* "*and exciſe*," in the clauſe that directs the collectors to pay the drawbacks and bounties, that the revenue ariſing from them might in no wiſe be charged with ſuch payments; but I thought it unreaſonable, (and had the good fortune to find Lord North of the ſame opinion) that the branch of the revenue which was benefitted by the importation ſhould be exempted from the re-payment on exportation, and, beſides ſuch an exception, would go in all future caſes to curb Parliament in making arrangements which might be judged neceſſary for the public good, wherever the hereditary revenue might be affected; but I truſt the gentlemen

tlemen of the Houſe of Commons will be careful to maintain good faith with the Crown on this occaſion. They muſt ſee how important it is to the welfare of Ireland, that the Crown ſhould have confidence in their promiſes to make good any loſs the hereditary revenue may eventually ſuffer by any regulations they may make, and they can take no method ſo efficacious for eſtabliſhing that confidence as making a liberal proviſion in the caſe of this bill.

The amendment I told you I intended to propoſe in that part of the bill which reſpects the cautions under which the exports are to be made, I found would not be reliſhed at preſent, as the Parliament of Ireland had judged them proper, and the reaſons I had to offer required more attention than can be expected of miniſters at this ſeaſon of the year, the few hours a week they are in town. But beſides, as the penalty of not returning the certificate is only the payment of the duty, the uncharged goods, ſuch as linens, although the bond is required for them, will be liable to no penalty, if the certificate is not returned. When the act is renewed next ſeſſion, it will be proper to alter

that

that part of it, and you will ſee by the encloſed paper how I had intended it ſhould have been, and I think it will meet with no difficulty here, if you keep good faith with the hereditary revenue. I beg my reſpects to my Lord Lieutenant, and am, &c.

WILL. KNOX.

P. S. I date my letter from St. James's, having come up to attend the Council.

No. XL.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dear Sir,

COPIES of the letters I have the honour of receiving from you in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſions of our parliaments, were made ſome time ſince; but as you had hinted that the ſeveral matters they treat of might come again into diſcuſſion, I wiſhed them to have been accompanied with a word or two upon thoſe ſubjects, and have been collecting materials for the purpoſe. *I am ſorry this has occaſioned a delay*

inconvenient to you and injurious to the public, being well assured nothing I could offer would compensate the having deferred your consideration of these subjects. I have not omitted to express how much I thought my Lord Lieutenant and the public indebted to you for your attention to them, and beg you will do me the justice to believe, I should be very happy in any opportunity of shewing how sensible I am of the material assistance I receive from you upon many occasions.

I am, dear Sir,

With great esteem,

Your most faithful,

And obedient,

Humble servant,

R. HERON.

Dublin Castle,
15th *Oct.* 1778.

No. XLI.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Dublin, August 6, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE received your very obliging letter of the 31st of last month, and make no doubt that we shall pass the equalizing bill with the alteration, though certainly not agreeable to

those

thoſe who are capable of judging of the ſubject. The keeping up the diſtinction between the hereditary and temporary revenue can anſwer no purpoſe, but to continue jealouſies which every good man muſt wiſh to extinguiſh: there are but two principles upon which it can be ſupported, and no man, I believe, will avow either.—The firſt is, that a time may come when the Crown may act without a Parliament, and depend upon the hereditary revenue for its ſupport; the ſecond is, that the hereditary revenue is the private property of the Crown, and may be diſpoſed of at pleaſure.

Whatever advantage may be derived to this kingdom from the laws which have paſſed in Great Britain the laſt ſeſſion, it has been obtained, I am perſuaded, principally by your judgement, induſtry, and zeal. I am ſenſible that I had not the leaſt merit in any thing which was done; for though no man had warmer wiſhes, I perceived very clearly that nothing I ſaid made the leaſt impreſſion. It will certainly appear that Great Britain will not ſuffer any prejudice from thoſe laws. I wiſh it were equally certain, Ireland would receive benefit from them, which, I muſt confeſs to you, I much doubt

from the want not only of capitals, but of ſpirit in our merchants. Seven hundred pounds premium to the firſt ſhip which goes has already been offered, and, to all appearance, in vain. *I ſhall be happy in the continuance of a correſpondence with one for whom I have ſo much eſteem, and who has proved himſelf to be ſo ſincere, as well as powerful a friend to my country.* The Roman Catholic bill will paſs our Houſe this day, and I make no doubt will paſs the Lords likewiſe. I am, with much affection and eſteem,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt aſſured,

And obedient ſervant,

EDM. PERRY.

No. XLII.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Eſq.*

Dromoland, Sept. 20th, 1778.

Dear Sir,

OBSERVING in a late paper that the government here have iſſued a proclamation for taking

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off entirely the embargo on butter, I cannot omit returning my thanks for a meaſure, to which I was a witneſs how much your zeal for Ireland contributed. It were exceedingly to be wiſhed, that ſomething could be done alſo with reſpect to the beef trade of this kingdom, ſo far as may be neceſſary for the fleets of England, it is altogether reaſonable they ſhould be firſt ſerved, and yet, conſidering the circumſtances of the two countries, even that pre-emption might be always inſured, by the contractors paying two or three ſhillings per hundred more than they do at preſent, without that terrible convulſion which a now three years embargo has made on our trade and conſtitution. But above half the beef of Ireland is of an inferior ſort, which the contractors for the navy will not take; and while the convoys go only from Cork, Waterford, and Dublin, even that over-loaded trade of ſmall beef is monopolized in thoſe towns by a few merchants, while Limerick, Gallway, Sligo, &c. are under an abſolute prohibition. I feel the effects of this very ſeverely at this inſtant, not being able to get a guinea rent among my tenants. What the ſenſe of the Limerick merchants is you will judge from the encloſed, which contains a pretty fair re-

preſentation

prefentation of the facts, though the letter was not written, I believe, to be ſhown about.

The Roman Catholics ſeem every where highly grateful for the benefits they have received, and yet without any imprudent expreſſions of their joy; the principal ones of them every where come to the aſſizes to take the oaths to his Majeſty; and if it be thought neceſſary, the whole body of the people might be brought to do the ſame by the next ſeſſion. At my aſſizes, the tutelar biſhop, M‘ Mahon, and all his clergy, were ſworn, and at the ſame time he publiſhed the encloſed exhortation, which I ſend you as an evidence of thoſe people's opinion.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and

Faithful ſervant,

LUCIUS O'BRIAN.

No. XLIII.

To Mr. PERRY.

9th Oct. 1778.

Dear Sir,

SOON after I received your very obliging letter, our friend Sir Lucius repeated his visit to this metropolis; and as he seldom travels in vain for his country's advantage, an opportunity offered while he was here of liberating the Irish butter from the embargo, and *we did not suffer it to slip*. The beef is still wholly subject to it; and I find by a letter I have received from him since his return, that its being so is of very mischievous consequences to Ireland. The Attorney General, who is now here, tells me the same thing; and as I never can suppose Government *mean to do mischief, though they often do it*, I wish to be able to shew the evil, and point out a remedy. There are two objects to be attended to in any proposition that we may make them: the securing a sufficient supply for our own forces, and the preventing the French availing themselves of our beef to victual their ships and colonies. The embargo effectually does both; and if we

cannot

cannot ſhew ſome other way of doing ſo, I fear the embargo will not be removed. You are able to give Government the beſt information upon this ſubject, and I very willingly offer my beſt endeavours to have your advice liſtened to. The preſent is a ſeaſon of receſs, and any matter of this kind can now be eaſily brought into conſideration; the ſooner, therefore, that you make your propoſition, the better. I am not afraid but that we ſhould prevail to have the *ſmall beef* ſent at large, if we could draw an effectual line between it and the kind our own people are ſupplied with; for I think the firſt object I mentioned is of much greater importance than the ſecond; and if that can be obtained, the other might be leſs regarded. I am going to Bath to drink the water the remainder of this month, and hope to be honoured with your commands upon my return, which will give great pleaſure to, and be punctually executed by, &c.

WILLIAM KNOX.

No. XLIV.

To WILLIAM KNOX, *Esq.*

Edmund's Bury, Oct. 23, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I DEFERRED acknowledging the receipt of your very kind letter of the 9th inſtant, until I had again ſpoke to Sir Richard Heron upon the ſubject of it, which, indeed, I had repeatedly done before: *he aſſured me that my Lord Lieutenant and he had uſed every argument they could think of to have the embargo upon ſmall beef taken off, or at leaſt relaxed, but in vain*; however he ſaid he would, at my requeſt, make another effort for the purpoſe, ſince I ſeemed to think there was a poſſibility that might ſucceed. Yet I confeſs to you I have little expectations from it; the ſame principles upon which it was firſt laid on, ſtill ſubſiſt, and will continue it. How conſiſtent they are either with juſtice or good policy I will not preſume to examine; but this I am certain of, that hitherto it has anſwered

no other purpoſe but that of reducing to the utmoſt diſtreſs a people who have deſerved better. You ſay there are two objects to be attended to in any propoſition to be made on this ſubject ;— the ſecuring a ſufficient ſupply for our own forces, and preventing the French ſhips and colonies from being victualled. With reſpect to the firſt, I am confident that none of our beef which is fit for the Engliſh market ever goes to any other ; the price of it, which no other country will, or perhaps can pay, is the beſt ſecurity againſt that. With reſpect to the ſecond, it now appears that the French fleets and colonies have been ſufficiently provided with victuals, notwithſtanding the embargo in this kingdom continued for years ; and I confeſs I cannot ſee what advantage it is to Great Britain that France ſhould be obliged to take her proviſions from other countries, rather than from Ireland. It has I know been the policy of very wiſe nations to ſupply their enemies, even in time of war, with what they wanted, and I believe they never had reaſon to repent having done ſo. With reſpect to drawing a line between the ſmall beef and that fit for the conſumption of Great Britain, in my opinion the price moſt effectually does it ; but if that is not judged ſufficient, pro-

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per perſons, in whom Government may confide, may be ſtationed at the different ports of exportation to examine the proviſions intended to be exported.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful

And obedient ſervant,

EDM. PERRY.

No. XLV.

Papers which procured the Revocation of the Embargo on Iriſh Proviſions, Dec. 1778.

THE intention of laying and continuing the embargo on the exportation of beef and pork from Ireland was to ſecure a ſufficient ſupply for our fleets and armies, and to prevent the rebels and French from getting them. There is no reſtraint upon the quantity that may be ſent to our own iſlands, but only that the ſhips muſt ſail with convoy, and give bond to deliver their cargoes according to their declaration.—This reſtraint has operated ſufficiently for preventing clandeſtine exportations to the French iſlands, or the rebellious provinces. The con-

tinuance of it therefore may be expected to have the like operation, and on that account it ought to be continued; but the reſtraint of exporting to all Europe except France, does not appear ſo neceſſary. The French fleets and trading ſhips have not been kept in port for want of Iriſh proviſions, and ſhould the French get them through Spain or Holland, their doing ſo will not ſerve to augment their navy, and will therefore be no injury to Great Britain. They can now get ſupplied with Daniſh and Swediſh proviſions in the ſame manner as they will then get the Iriſh. They cannot then ſo eaſily ſend the Iriſh proviſions to their iſlands as they now can the Daniſh or Swediſh, for the Daniſh or Swediſh may go in ſafety in their own ſhips to St. Euſtatia, or St. Croix, and have only the riſk of being taken between thoſe iſlands and the French, but the Iriſh proviſions, if ſent from France, will have the riſk of being taken in Europe, as well as in the Weſt Indies. The taking off the embargo therefore upon the exportation of Iriſh beef and pork, to all parts of Europe, except France, cannot be of any public detriment, but it will greatly ſerve Ireland, for the Spaniards and Portugueſe will have it for their ſhips and ſettlements. The

French

French will endeavour to get it in preference to what they now make uſe of, but the demand on the whole will not be ſo great as to interfere with our own ſupplies, nor will the ſame ſort of beef that we want be called for by the French, Spaniards, or Portugueſe.

No. XLVI.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. EDEN, *to Mr.* KNOX.

Dublin Caſtle, Nov. 28, 1781.

My dear Sir,

THIS meſſenger carries the remainder of our money bills, and I ſincerely hope they may be returned without delay or alteration. Pray write to me by return of this meſſenger, and give me your ſentiments and advice upon the ſubject of a national Bank for Ireland. I have many ideas upon it, whenever I can find time to digeſt them, and I ſee the importance of the preſent government taking the lead in the meaſure, and managing it indeed before they bring it into Parliament. Since that eſtabliſhment muſt

muſt ſooner or later be made, and it is very eſſential to the intereſts of the nation to make this alſo a link of connection.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully and affectionately,

Your's, &c.

W. EDEN.

No. XLVII.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. KNOX *to Mr.* EDEN.

Whitehall, December 6, 1781.

My dear Sir,

ONE batch of your bills is gone back, and the other, I believe, will very ſoon follow. You deſire my thoughts upon a national Bank for Ireland. It is an ill time for one who is juſt become a bankrupt in one part of the world to think of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of credit in another; but you ſhall have what occurs, and as it is a ſubject I have often deliberated upon, the leſs conſideration will now be neceſſary.

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(The whole of this letter being upon a ſubject of too delicate a nature for the public eye, ſhort extracts of the plan is only given.) The plan of the Bank of England is, for commercial purpoſes, the moſt perfect that can be imagined, and it has the advantage of long experience and infinite ſucceſs to recommend it. The interior of it is wonderfully regular, to come at the knowledge of it you muſt buy one of the clerks at any price, for the œconomy of it is kept a ſecret. I know a good deal of it, but not ſufficient to ſketch the plan.

The Bank ſhould be reſtrained from lending money upon lands or purchaſing; but they ſhould be at liberty to lend upon Government ſecurities. To extend the circulation of your notes, from which all the benefit to the nation muſt ariſe, as by that means the public ſtock will be augmented, which is the great thing now wanted, paſs an act, making Iriſh currency the ſame as Engliſh, and then the Bank notes will gain a circulation here, and throughout all England and Scotland; but you muſt have a correſponding houſe here, as the Briſtol banks have, to give caſh for Iriſh Bank notes. The alteration of the currency would have

another

another good effect; it would assist you with loans from this and other countries, as all people would know what they were to receive, deducting a commission, which they cannot now do, embarrassed by the difference of exchanges. It would answer politically also, by removing a distinction between the two kingdoms, which is of no sort of use to either; for you are too well informed of the nature of money to suppose the increasing the nominal value of the specie will serve to restrain it in any country. And still further to promote the circulation of their notes, and give the government a claim to their assistance, all the receivers of the revenue should be ordered to send their money to the Bank; but the same caution should be used by the Irish exchequer, as is used here, to prevent the idea of Bank notes being lawful tender. The exchequer never offers to pay in notes, a clerk of the Bank sits there, and upon your desiring notes, hands over to the Teller the sum wanted. Your Tellers and Receivers General will not greatly like my propositions, especially that one of the Collectors remitting to the Bank; but you can compensate them by increasing their salaries, for the thing must be done, or your Bank will fail of its utility to

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the public, from the want of circulation, for the collectors being remitters to the Bank, will be glad to take Bank notes, and thus every one of them throughout the kingdom, will become a cashier for the Bank. I know the collectors make a profit by remitting merchants and manufacturers bills, but if you oblige them to remit weekly, they will not always be able to get good bills, and must take Bank notes.

I have another plan to propose in addition to that of a national bank, with the same view of increasing the national stock of money, and pointed especially to the improvement of the lands; but while the British government is giving an interest of 6 per cent. it is in vain to think of carrying it into execution.

WILL. KNOX.

No. XLVIII.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. KNOX *to the Marquis of* BUCKINGHAM, *dated* 27th *February*, 1788.

AS I was ſo fortunate as to be the firſt who was able to prevail with an Engliſh Adminiſtration, to conſider the extenſion of the trade of Ireland, as promotive of the proſperity of Great Britain, and in conſequence of that perſuaſion, obtained for Ireland, a participation in her fiſheries and colony trade, and had alſo the good fortune to frame ſuch regulations for carrying it on, as proved ſatisfactory to the Engliſh manufacturer, and gave content to the people of Ireland; I have always felt it my duty upon every occaſion, when my ſervice was required or my opinion aſked, to take the intereſts of Ireland into conſideration with thoſe of Great Britain, and endeavour to procure for the Iriſh commerce the ſame advantages that were propoſed to be given to that of Great Britain; and having been lately applied to for a plan for extending and accelerating the correſpondence between this country and North America, and the Weſt India Iſlands, I did not fail to point out in the one I propoſed, the manner in which

Ireland

Ireland might be admitted to partake of its advantages: but as my preſent private ſituation gives me no official intercourſe with miniſters, I can do no more than point out the method, and muſt leave the enforcing it to abler hands; and as I know none more ſo than your Excellency's, I truſt you will pardon the liberty I have taken of ſending you the encloſed complete copy of my plan, that your Excellency ſeeing its whole extent, and the ſeveral relations it combines, may be the better able to judge of its importance; and whether the connecting Ireland with it, in the manner I have propoſed, be an object worthy your Excellency's attention. I am happy to ſee your Excellency take the lead in a meaſure, [*the reduction of the national intereſt*,] which I have often heard my ever dear and honoured friend, your Excellency's late father, ſpeak of as highly neceſſary to be adopted; and I thought it juſt to his memory, which I ſhall never ceaſe to revere, to mention his intention of doing ſo, in my late Pamphlet* upon the Commercial Treaty; and I hope the reduction of the Engliſh legal intereſt, which I then ſug-

* Helps to a Right Underſtanding the Merits of the Commercial Treaty with France, addreſſed to the members of both Houſes of Parliament. Printed for J. Debrett, Piccadilly.

geſted, will take place, as that will obviate all objections to the reduction your Excellency has propoſed in Ireland. Your Excellency has a wide field for the diſplay of your great abilities, and the ſuſpenſion (for it is no more) of emigration to America, which the unſettled ſtate of that country occaſions, furniſhes a ſingularly glorious opportunity for their application; and I beg your Excellency to believe, that whatever little aſſiſtance it may be in my power to give, for the furtherance of your Excellency's meaſures for the public welfare, will be at all times moſt cheerfully afforded, by him who has the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect and eſteem,

Your's &c.

No. XLIX.

Paper ſent to Mr. ROSE, *Dec.* 9, 1787, *to be laid before Mr.* PITT.

AMONG the circumſtances of good which may be extracted from the great evil of the American war, and its unfortunate termination, the ſtop put to emigration from Great Britain and Ireland to America, is the moſt important, as it affords Government a fair occaſion

of not only retaining but increaſing its ſubjects, and adding to the national wealth, by increaſing the products of the lands, and extending manufactures. The event has ſhewn how very unwiſe the old policy of unbounded colonization was, but the purſuit of the ſame ſyſtem, after the experience we have had of its pernicious tendency, would be ſtill more culpable; and as we have the means of providing for the accommodation of many more inhabitants than the Britiſh iſlands contain, let us uſe at leaſt equal endeavours to induce thoſe we have to remain with us, as were formerly put in practice, to tempt them to emigrate to America. Inſtead of holding out gratuitous grants of lands in America, with ſupplies of proviſions and working tools, civil and religious eſtabliſhments without expence, exemption from taxes, bounties on their products, to excite the ſtarving inhabitants of the Scotch iſlands to abandon their oppreſſive landlords, high-rented lands, burthenſome taxes, want of markets for their ſcanty produce, and of civil authority and religious inſtruction for their comfort and protection; let us induce them to cultivate thoſe not unfertile diſtricts by ſimilar indulgences, and try if we can colonize the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetland Iſlands,

and

and the unimproved tracts in Wales, at as ſmall an expence as we have been at to furniſh Nova Scotia, St. John's and Cape Breton with inhabitants. Plans for this purpoſe are what I have to propoſe, but I will not offer them at the hazard of their being converted into jobs, or being defeated through the ignorance or ſelf-intereſted views of thoſe to whom the execution of them may be committed. No man has ever had the ſame opportunities I have had of acquiring commercial and colonial information, and very few have had the like occaſions to combine what they may have attained, with the knowledge of the political intereſts of this country: and the great ſucceſs which has attended the regulations I have adviſed, warrant me in ſaying, I availed myſelf of them. Nor has want of integrity, or the preferring my private intereſts to thoſe of the public, ever been imputed to me. I do not therefore conceive I ſhall expoſe myſelf to the charge of arrogance, in propoſing myſelf as the moſt fit to conduct ſuch an undertaking, and I am ready to do it without any ſtipulation of emolument, or looking for other gratification than the conſciouſneſs of having eſſentially ſerved my country, and teſtified my gratitude to my moſt gracious Sovereign, whoſe ſpontaneous bounty relieved me when I was diſtreſſed.

THE END.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Knox, William, 1732-1810

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